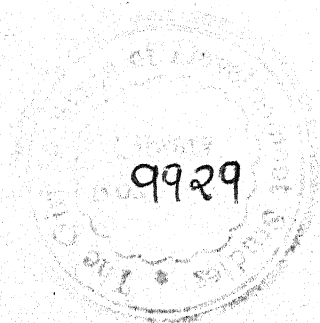


VILLAGE INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE
IN
CHANGING AGRARIAN SITUATION
IN
EAST U. P. : A MICRO-LEVEL
INVESTIGATION

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Chapter-1

CHANGES IN AGRARIAN RELATIONS - A MACRO VIEW FOR INTRODUCING THE PROBLEM IN QUESTION

"England has to fulfill a double mission in India : one destructive, the other regenerating - the annihilation of old Asiatic Society, and the laying of the material foundations of western society in India".

K. Marx, 'The Future Results
of the British Rule in India',
The New-York Daily Tribune,
August 8, 1853.

The objective of planning for development in rural India is to bring about progress and prosperity for all sections of its population. But the realisation of this objective in actual life very much depends on the complex of agrarian relations that exists in the country at a given point of time. It is this complex that determines the economic structure of rural society, and shapes and directs the process of development in rural areas.

"Agrarian relations in fact represent an area of social life deeply rooted in mankind's history. In essence they embrace four basic elements : firstly, the land question - a question of one of the main sources of people's lives, secondly, the question of its producers - the peasants who represent the most numerous section of the world's population; thirdly, the question of agriculture - a technology and methods of working the soil; and fourthly, the social question - the relationship between town and country, industry and agriculture, and rural

and urban producers".¹ It is these basic elements and their inter-relations which are the most important factor in determining and shaping the process of development and so progress and prosperity for different sections of population in a country. These elements and the characteristic pattern of their inter-relations do not remain constant but gradually change over a period of time. Hence the process of development is shaped or reshaped accordingly.

II. Characteristic Forms of Changes in Land, Peasants and Agriculture

The characteristic forms of these elements and their interrelations have gradually changed in rural India, specially since its colonial rule in particular. Land as a basic source of livelihood no longer possesses the characteristic of communal ownership or medieval form of land holding but that of private property² as the means of production. The colonial rule replaced village communal ownership in land or medieval form of land holding by inter-weaving a feudal structure of land relations through the institution of Permanent Settlements. In this structure, feudal lords as land owners and peasants as the producers of land came into being. This feudal structure of land relations that existed in British India for a long period of time does not exist in the same form and order in today's India. Various land reforms and measures demolished the feudal structure of land relations by abolishing the Zamin-dary System and intermediaries. These reforms and measures also

led to self-resumption in cultivation of land by bringing about peasants into direct contact with the State. In other words, the feudal structure of land relations as transplanted by English is now replaced by peasant proprietaryship. As a result, most of the peasants are not only the producers of land but also its owners.

The restructuring of land relations has simultaneously changed the characteristic form of peasantry in today's India. Now the Indian peasantry consists of three major groups of the rural population attached to land as private property - owner-peasants, tenants and landless agricultural labourers. This three-fold classification of peasantry follows from the existing juridical form of property relations in land. But the present system of inter-connections prevailing among different sections of peasantry relating to the process of production folds the following classes - rich or well-to-do peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants, and agricultural labourers. The rich peasants are those who own and operate a substantial amount of land, do not hire out family labour but use wage labour based technique of production. The middle peasants are those who own operate medium sized farm and use family labour based technique of production. These are the poor peasants who own or operate small or negligible amount of land, use family labour based technique of production and mostly hire out their labour in off-farms. Agricultural labourers basically depend on agricultural wages by selling their labour power

as a commodity to employer-farmers in rural areas. Hence, in today's India peasantry is differentiable in terms of the relations and interests that the peasants of all categories have relating to the process of agricultural production.

Agriculture as a technology and methods of farming has also undergone substantial changes in rural India since the colonial days. Changes have taken place in agriculture right from the methods and techniques of tilling and irrigating land to those of harvesting, threshing and storing crops. Agricultural machinery and implements locally made in villages are gradually becoming outdated being replaced gradually with modern agricultural machinery and implements such as tractors, tubewells and energised pumpsets, power operated threshers and crushers etc. All these are manufactured in modern factories and workshops located in urban areas. The introduction of bio-chemical and mechanical innovations has not only changed the method and technique of farming but has also evolved new varieties of crops leading to changes in yield potentials and commodity-structure of agricultural production. Scientific and technological improvements in the system of irrigation and water management have been another source to change agriculture as a technology and methods of farming in rural India.

All these scientific and technological changes are the product of transfer of science and technology mostly from the West. The transfer of science and technology from the West is

historically linked with the colonial process of creating material conditions of Western Society in India. The introduction of science and steam was the first case of technology transfer. The Industrial Commission Report of 1916 and the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1926 show how the colonial rulers planned to introduce agricultural improvements through the transfer of science and technology and evolution of corresponding organisations located at metropolis and major urban centres in India.

What do all these changes in land relations, producers' relation to land and agriculture imply? The prevailing juridical form of property relations and the social intercourse of 'new' productive forces in the process of agricultural production paved the way for development of capitalism in Indian agriculture. This development is deeply rooted in the colonial mode of production which was super-imposed by the colonial rulers through the introduction and institutionalisation of juridical form of property relations, the transfer of science and technology, the creation of a Centre-periphery nexus of trade relations, and evolving and developing institutional organisations for the laying of the material conditions of Western Society. Hence all the above changes in the structure of land relations, form of peasantry and agriculture as a technology and methods of farming have taken place in today's India at the colonial base of capitalist development; firstly,

begun at metropolis and major urban centres and then diffused in the countrysides through a chain of market and trade links.

III. Characteristic Form of Changes in Relationship Between Village and Town, Agriculture and Industry

The characteristic pattern or form of relations between village and town (or for that matter, between rural and urban producers) by and large, depend on the form of relations between agriculture and industry. The form of relations between agriculture and industry has gradually changed from ancient to modern India. In ancient India, the form of their inter-relations was based on 'the unity of small-scale agriculture and domestic industry to which in India we should add the form of village communities built upon the communal ownership of land'.³ There was unity because of two reasons - firstly, agriculture and domestic industry were economically and technologically inter-dependent; and secondly, the technological, organisational and socio-economic structures of agricultural and artisan based craft production were basically not different from one another. As a result, the unity of small-scale agriculture and domestic industry did not produce any kind of dichotomy between village and town, except their spatio-socio-occupational differences. The village was preponderated with the peasants engaged in agriculture while the town was a centre of craft production, trade and commerce. Artisans - whether living in village or town - being a common socio-economic group or class and 'hats' or 'bazars' or 'fairs' scattered over the

countrysides at having located at a central place also provided social links between the village and town. In medieval India too, the characteristic pattern of relations between village and town, by and large, remained the same. The techno-organisational and socio-economic structures of production did not undergo any fundamental change; despite evolution of Mansabdari or Jagidari System leading to emergence of 'nobility' or 'gentry' in village and town, growth of money or merchant capital and expansion and growth of domestic industry in towns. The reason was that neither the techno-organisational content of productive forces used in agriculture and domestic industry nor the socio-economic form of their production was different from village to town. Hence in medieval India, the relations between village and town were not technologically or socio-economically dichotomic.

The basic structure of Indian society which was spontaneously grown out from the existence of unity between agriculture and industry having based on a social structure of interconnectedness between peasants and manufacturers and a uniform mode of technology inter-connecting all productive activities leading to common socio-economic and technological links between village and town was completely broken and gradually replaced by the super-imposed colonial mode of production. This mode of production which was firstly super-imposed by the British system of feudalism, trade and commerce and industry, and by the introduction of British science and

technology not only destroyed the unity of agriculture and domestic-industry or the common techno-economic ties between different production activities but also sub-ordinated agriculture to industry, villages to towns and cities, rural producers to urban producers, rural people to urban elites. These conditions for their respective subordination were created not only by super-imposing a structure of technological dependency for agriculture, domestic industry and rural producers in particular and villages in general but also by destroying artisan based mode of technology and by interweaving a centre-periphery-nexus of market and trade relations. This nexus of market and trade relations which was gradually enlarged through the expansion of transport-communication network led to growth of money and merchant capital; under which peasant production and craft production were subsumed. The subsumption of rural production under money and merchant capital, without the transfer and application of modern science and technology at the countryside made rural producers completely dependent on urban producers and merchants, villages on towns and cities wherein trade, commerce and modern industry were centralised. As a result, rural-urban dichotomy was created not only in spatio-ecological sense of the term but also in terms of technological, socio-occupational and sectoral differentials. In other words, agriculture and industry began to differ from the point of view of their respective techno-organisational form and socio-economic structure of production; rural producers were technologically and economically different from urban producers

(specially those belonging to the organised sector) and villages were economically and technologically segmented from cities and towns. In order to intensify this culture, the British system of education was introduced and institutions and organisations were correspondingly established at metropolis and other major urban centres which created a class of people endowed with material value and outlook of the Western type.⁴ This class of people were elites living in different metropolitan and urban centres who helped in the spread of the urban bias culture of development in the country.

Thus the colonial process of science and technology transfer, creating a centre-periphery nexus of market-trade relations, growth in money and merchant capital and urban based formation of elitist class for the sub-sumption of rural production, created conditions of dependency for villages on cities and towns for their development. In this way, not only technological or sectoral dualism grew between agriculture and industry or between village and town but also dichotomic socio-economic relations between those engaged in agriculture and non-agriculture at the countryside and those who were engaged in urban based formal sector. Thus the superimposed colonial mode of production resulted the development of metropolitan capitalism on the one hand and on the other, it created conditions for sustaining the pre-capitalistic characteristics of production at the periphery.

The creation of centre-periphery nexus of market and trade relations facilitated the movement of capital, commodity output and manpower towards metropolitan and major urban centres from the periphery. The formation of such 'centripetal' forces at those centres created income differentials between them and the countryside. The formation and emergence of elites at these centres helped in upholding the urban-bias theory of development, the practice of which added further to rural and urban dichotomy. In this process, two things happened: (a) development of capitalism at metropolis and major urban centres as a dominant system-moulding force; and (b) creation of a techno-socio-economic structure of dependency for villages on towns and cities, for rural producers on urban producers and merchants, and for agriculture on industry. All this was possible by destroying the basic structural links of unity existing between small-scale agriculture and domestic industry which was the basis for the existence of socio-economic and technological uniformity in the pattern of relations between village and town.

The emergence of metropolitan capitalism as a system-moulding force and the urban-based process of capitalist development led to an uneven spatio-social process of growth in British India. The creation of dependency structure in various forms and orders which was meant for appropriating peripheral surplus, produced conditions for reproducing the same feudal-peasant relations, peasant-artisan relations and

and the same means of production in the countryside. Transfer and application of modern science and technology in some selected parts of rural India such as North-Western region could make a dent on the development of Indian agriculture. In this way, most of the characteristics of the earlier modes of production were retained in village India, except the case of introducing the villages into the arena of commodity-money relations.

What all this that happened during the colonial days indicates the following : firstly, the destruction of the basic structure of socio-economic and technological interconnectedness between agriculture and domestic industry, rural producers and urban producers and village and town that existed in India for a long period of time prior to the colonial rule; and secondly, the super-imposition of the colonial mode of production which founded and built a highly uneven spatial structure of development and growth leading to techno-socio-economic process of segregation between village and town, agriculture and industry and rural and urban producers. All these segregations between village and town (or agriculture and industry or rural and urban producers) whether technological or socio-economic or occupational or sectoral manifest an emergence and growth of dualistic socio-economic structure and techno-organisational form of production which were virtually absent in ancient and medieval India.

In a process, the colonial rule produced a new urban India in the midst of numerous villages which remained in stable equilibrium from the time immemorial before the advent of British Raj. These villages which constituted the main body of age-old traditional Indian society, preserved the glory of traditions and culture, called and identified as Indian or 'Hindustani' or 'Sharatiya', having stored in the form of their own mode of technology, knowledge and experience and life. As a result, the towns of ancient and medieval India could not succeed in maintaining or holding a separate identity of their own. But during the colonial period, urban India was gradually segmented from village India by destroying the basic structure of the age-old society of village India and by superimposing the colonial mode of production, as discussed above. This small part of India i.e. urban, occupied a place and force of dominance and became the main vehicle of development behind which the broken village India was left as a disjuncted trailer.

What all is described above, draws a picture of colonial India that free India got it as a legacy of the colonial rule. In fact, independent India boarded the process of planning for development on what British Raj left behind. In a sense, all the institutional fabrics of the British Raj remained interwovenly intact in India, where the process of planning was put in operation. Urban India, being the main vehicle of development and the national bourgeoisie being its main

driver, continued to be the focal point at the decision-making structure and process of planning for development in free India - whether it was spatial or sectoral. Hence the national bourgeoisie went in quest for the formulation of such policy measures and programmes which could enlarge the area of and strengthen the hold of capitalism as a system-moulding force of development in the country. In view of this idea, areas or regions, sectors or activities and different sections of population started to be identified as an order of priorities and strategies for development were chalked out accordingly.

The agrarian reconstruction programmes which were launched during the First Plan in terms of Land Reforms, Cooperative Training, Community Development and development of village and cottage-industry primarily aimed at the reconstructing of the colonial pattern of feudal-peasant relations in land; informing the village communities about urban-based decisions of planning for rural development and cooperation in farming and development of village and cottage industries that village India had in the past before the advent of the colonial rule. In fact, these programmes were linked with a view to generating changes in villages in order to make them conducive to growth in agricultural production which was essential for development of capitalism in agriculture. At the same time, the development of village and cottage industries was taken for retaining the elements of earlier modes of production.

But this development also required money growth (i.e. monetization) in villages for strengthening commodity-money relations in them. Hence the recommendations of the first RBI Rural Credit Survey came into being and a systematic plan was made for the development of rural credit market in rural areas through the expansion of rural credit societies and adoption of liberal credit policy. All rural credit institutions established during this period were mostly located at urban areas.

All this was not enough for the development of capitalism in rural India. The development of capital-generating sector was also essential. The development of village and cottage industries was also called for technological improvements i.e. modernisation. Hence the policy measures and programmes for industrial development were undertaken during the Second Plan. The Industrial Resolution Policy of 1956 provided guidelines for developing industries in the country.

The Mahalanobis four-sector model of growth formed the basis of the Second Plan having weightage in favour of capital goods sector. The potentials for capital growth were thus created in both sectors - public and private. Infrastructural facilities such as rail, roads, communications were also extended between urban areas and power generation centres with a network of its distribution, being essential for the development of industries also increased. The development of

village and cottage industries was also taken into account but they continued to suffer without improving their technologies and providing appropriate organisation for their development. The Karve Committee suggested for their development in the shape of small-scale industries. But the development of these industries remained to be a subject of the KGVII Commission, its office head located in Bombay. However this process of industrial development could not generate technoeconomic linkages between formal industries localised in major towns and cities and unorganised informal sector industries located in rural and semi-urban areas. Productivity differentials between urban-based industrial sector and agriculture increased. At the same time, the demand for wage goods also went up in many-fold. And the development of agricultural sector became imperative.

corresponding institutions were transferred
Hence modern science, technology and in rural India
from the West⁵. The IADP Scheme was introduced in some selected districts belonging to different States in the country. This scheme being brought from USA introduced modern inputs and practices of farming and correspondingly appropriate institutions and organisations were created at the key urban centres which were external to rural areas. In this regard, the IADP scheme and stationing of the scheme for demonstration and extension services are worth-quoting.

The peasants of all categories were not in position to participate in this scheme because of various spatio-institutional bottlenecks. During the period of First and Second Plan, multi-purpose irrigation projects and Command Area Development Schemes were also undertaken in order to bring rural areas or villages under irrigation. In this way, modern science and technology was also transferred and applied for the development of major and minor irrigation system. Some parts of rural India had experienced development of modern science and technology based canal irrigation system and energised pumpsets during the colonial rule. During that period, the Irrigation Commission came out with its own suggestions and recommendations for extension and development of irrigation facilities and system in colonial India. The main objective of the colonial plan for irrigation was to integrate the commercial character of agriculture with agro-based industries such as cotton and sugarcane for serving the colonial interests. Subsequently the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Industrial Commission of 1926 also put forward recommendations for organising the departments of agriculture and industry for modernising agriculture, specially in the field of cropping and irrigation system. Later on the organisational structure interwoven by the colonial rulers in these matters formed the basis for agricultural and industrial development in free India. Urban India was the seat of all decision-making and ideas for such development and its organisation stemmed from there. Emphasis on planned efforts to

develop irrigation based on modern science and technology brought more areas under irrigation. Traditional sources of irrigation and methods of water-lifts started to become out-dated specially in those areas or villages which were brought under scientific irrigation and water management systems along the use of power and modern methods of water-lifts.

The mid-sixties witnessed to the transfer of modern science and technology in Indian agriculture. As a result, agriculture experienced 'Green Revolution', particularly in those areas which had assured water supply. The successful application of modern science and technology demanded creation of an appropriate organisation for research and dissimulation of findings in rural areas. Some more Agricultural Universities were opened and bureaucratic machinery was reorganised accordingly at the Centre and State levels. Credit institutions and other marketing institutions were started by the State. The nationalisation of Commercial Banks also helped in extending the network of credit and marketing institutions at different urban and semi-urban areas in order to bring rural areas in close contact with them. As a result, those who had substantial land and other material resources were in position to reap the gains of modern science and technology because of their credit worthiness and resourcefulness. Hence the yield potentials of agriculture went in many folds in the areas which had irrigation facilities and progressive peasants. Hence the form of peasantry changed as discussed elsewhere.

The application of modern science and technology by progressive peasants with substantial amount of land and material resources and credit worthiness undoubtedly raised agricultural production and marketed surplus leading to an increase in inter-farm income inequality and in their capacity to command control over the supply of agricultural surplus in the market. The process of change brought about from the application of modern science and technology also led to depeasantisation because poor peasants and tenants were not in position to meet the increasing cost of cultivation resulting from the application of modern science and technology. In this way, poor peasants and agricultural labourers were completely dependent on the rich peasants for their subsistence. This structure of dependency gradually became all the much stronger with their increasing power in different Cooperative Institutions and other local bodies which were created by the party in power to enjoy political support from people at the grass-root level. In this way, the rich peasants developed contact with urban areas which produced and supplied agricultural machinery, implements and other modern inputs. With increase in rail, road and communication facilities, more villages had direct contact with urban areas. Increase in public utilities services made them easier to have contact with urban areas. Despite all such infrastructural developments, many of them were still quite distant from towns and cities because they are not inter-connected with roads and rails and

have facilities to travel from one part to another in the absence of the means of transport. Whatever developments took place in infrastructural facilities and public utilities services were a product of the State for meeting the requirements of demand for social overhead capital and public utility services which arose from the urban-based process of development in the country. Hence a number of villages fell near to or on the road or rail side which were constructed for connecting one town to another or one block to another in order to meet the demand requirements arising out from this process of development.

The transfer of modern science and technology increased the demand for power and mechanisation. Hence both, the Centre and State undertook village electrification programme. In this way, the tubewells, pumpsets, tractors, cane crushers, power-operated ghani and expellers increased leading to an increase in the use of power in agriculture in particular and villages in general. Increasing demand for agricultural machinery, implements and power use necessitated the growth of agro-based industries in the formal sector. In this way, the villages were made dependent on urban India wherein all agro-based industries were established for manufacturing agricultural machinery and implements.

The demand for agricultural machinery and implements necessitated the importance of technical education, research

and training. The department of Rural Engineering was created in different States and teaching in rural engineering became one of the part of syllabi in different technical institutions and Agricultural Universities located in urban areas or sub-urban areas of some towns and cities. The use of agricultural machinery and implements and power increased the demand for technical services for repairing them. Hence a number of small workshops in the form of informal activities started in neighbouring towns or semi-urban areas for meeting the rural demand for technical services. The users had to visit these areas for the repair work. The peasants who possessed tractors and pumpsets, had also to depend on towns for diesel. The post-Green Revolution era thus witnessed not only to the urban-based process of scientific and technological improvements in the conditions of production in agriculture but also to an emergence of the forces and conditions of dependency for villages on towns and peasants on urban producers. Moreover, structure of dependency for poor peasants, tenants, non-agricultural workers and artisans on the rich peasants was also enlarged and intensified because of the transfer of modern science and technology in agriculture and due to growth and expansion of agro-based industries which made rural artisans redundant in the prevailing situation. All this happened so because the use of modern science and technology by the rich peasants in their farms benefited them a lot by raising their output, marketable surplus and income. Given the command over

the supply of land and material resources, high credit worthiness and resourcefulness, they strengthened their socio-economic position in the village economy. The poor peasants, tenants, agricultural labourers and 'redundant' artisans being in the most disadvantageous position had no alternative except to depend on the rich peasants - a socio-economically powerful class. These helpless poor had also to depend on them for subsistence; because the rich peasants emerged politically a powerful class in different local bodies and institutions which formed the base for the pyramidal structure of political power. Growth and development of food-processing, fruit-processing and other agri-based industries enlarged the demand for food and non-food crops required as raw material for these industries. It was these rich peasants who benefited a lot from the development of these industries by producing a major part of high valued food or non-food crops. Hence their incomes also increased through this process of industrial development and in this way they added more to their socio-economic strength in rural India.

Growing inter-farm income inequalities, process of de-peasantisation, redundancy of artisans, and weakening position of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers compelled the State to go for differential strategy for rural development in which the concept of 'target' group was introduced for protecting the socio-economic interests of the people belonging to this group. In view of this idea, different programmes such

as SFDA, MFALDA, RES or REGS etc. were launched. Moreover, some legislations relating to fixation and regulation of agricultural wages, rural monitoring on indebtedness, bonded labour were also enacted and introduced in the seventies. All these differential programmes and measures provided some relief to these poor but they could not make them from the structure of dependency as enlarged and intensified during this period. The persistence of such dependency structure was in the interests of the rich peasants who enjoyed political power at the base of pyramidal power structure of the State and consequently help in facilitating urban-based process of rural development - a creation of the colonial rule.

A new concept - called Integrated Rural Development Programmes - was coined at the instance of the World Bank and West dominated International Bodies. The IRDP is a package of programmes for developing a number of activities allied to agriculture on the basis of local needs and resources available in rural areas. The experiences from the operation of these programmes relating to dairy, sericulture etc. indicate that the benefits from them have gone more in favour of the big land holders and rich peasants than the poor peasants, tenants and agricultural labourers.⁶ Any programme for developing land-based activities will undoubtedly benefit them because of the inegalitarian character of land and asset distribution and the existence of oligarchic pattern of socio-politico-economic power relations.⁷ The inegalitarian conditions of production

in agriculture and the oligarchic conditions of power in village India have also undermined the role and scope of household-based programmes for development in rural India because the conditions, as mentioned above, generally tune the spatio-social process of growth in favour of those households which command substantial amount of land and other material resources. Hence the household-based programme for developing artisans have hardly benefited them. The prevailing conditions are also frustrating the hope to improve the socio-economic lot of the weaker sections of population from the twenty-point programme for rural development. However, all these programmes are helping in the reproduction of dependency structure for poor peasants, agricultural and non-agricultural workers and artisans on the one hand and the other, they are being tied-up with commodity-money relations which serve the interests of the rural oligarch, traders and merchants and industrialists. Consequently, a new culture of development in terms of growth in material production and consumption is getting home in the country. This culture is an outcome of that spatio-social process of growth and development which begun its operation at the colonial base of metropolitan or urban-based capitalist development. The success of this process finally depends on the strengthening of the techno-socio-economic structure of dependency for villages on towns and cities, rural producers on urban producers, agriculture on trade and industry at the aggregative level; and poor peasants, tenants, agricultural and non-agricultural workers

and artisans on the rich peasants or rural oligarch at village level. Hence there is collusion of interests between rich peasants (or rural oligarch) and traders (or merchants), between rich peasants and industrial bourgeoisie; between these classes and bureaucracy and the party in power at the Centre. Their interests superfluously appear to be conflicting at the inter-class level within a given region or State. In fact, such conflicts are stage-managed to compete with one another for reaping the benefits. There are real conflicts between dominant and dependent classes of people in the economy.

What does all this show? The characteristic form of relationship between village and town, agriculture and industry, rural and urban producers which was built by the colonial rulers by creating dualistic techno-organisational and socio-economic structures of production in order to make the villages dependent on metropolis and urban centres, agriculture on commerce and trade, rural producers on urban producers; is further rebuilt and extended at the colonial base of dependency structure. As a result, the villages are moving towards urban areas but at a snail's speed : the rural producers are coming closes to urban producers and agriculture near to industry. But the ways in which these changes are taking place are interlocking in character because the urban-based capitalist process of development - a colonial creation - sustains the dualistic characteristics of the techno-organisational and socio-economic structures of production prevailing between

rural and urban India and formal and informal sectors at the aggregative level; and between the large and small scale industrial sectors, the large farm sector and artisan-based production at the disaggregative level. In this way, structural dependencia are leading to the consolidation of interests among the 'haves' and consequently, to conflicts between them and the 'haves not'. In other words, today's rural India is an articulation of the urban-based colonial process of development which also aims at retaining some of the characteristics of broken old Asiatic Society. Some of the characteristics of this society are retained in the villages or rural areas because they help in strengthening the structure of dependency in various forms and orders.

All the above changes in the pattern of land relations, in the characteristic form of peasantry and in agricultural as a technology and methods of farming - that is to say in the material conditions of production in Indian agriculture - brought about in rural India at the colonial base of metropolitan (or urban) capitalist development, describe or present a process of materialising capitalism as a dominating system-moulding force in rural India. The changes in the characteristic pattern or form of inter-relations between village and towns, agriculture and industry, rural and urban producers refer to an urban-based capitalist process of development in rural India which has not only led to the existence of a dualistic techno-organisation form and socio-economic structure of

production at aggregative and disaggregative levels but has also enlarged the structure of dependency at both levels - whether it is all India or rural India or urban India.

IV. Implications and Assumptions

All these changes in the basic elements of agrarian relations and in the characteristic forms of their inter-relations; and in the relationships between village and town, agriculture and industry, rural and urban producers constitute such a structure of agrarian relations wherein urban-based capitalism has emerged as a dominant system-moulding force in Indian villages; despite its spurt being spatially different there. As a result, there is coexistence of dominant and dependent agrarian relations. The dominant agrarian relations present a class of peasants, traders and producers who command control over the supply of land and other material resources and also dominate the material relationships in production. The dependent agrarian relations present a class of population, comprised of poor peasants, tenants, agricultural and non-agricultural workers and artisans which depends on the former for subsistence and favour. In other words, this dependent class subserves the interests of the latter. In case of conflicts and contradictions between them, the State acts like a reformist or catalyst. But in this process, dominant and dependent agrarian relations change their forms and orders only, as the policy measures and programmes for development shown above indicate. In other words, the prevailing agrarian

relations remained entrenched with dominant and dependent relations in various forms and orders in rural India.

What all this indicates is that an Indian village is dependent on town; its agriculture on industry and trade belonging to the organised sector, and its producers are dependent on urban producers. At the village level the poor peasants, tenants, agricultural and non-agricultural workers and artisans are dependent on the village rich peasants or oligarch. Accordingly, the process of development takes shape in the village. Hence an Indian village cannot be isolated from the total impact which is being generated from the urban-based urban capitalist process of development in the country. Any study on a problem (or problems) of rural development relating to Indian villages should not be encapsulated as a separate unit of investigation but as an integral part of the prevailing agrarian relations. Hence the present study on village industries in changing agrarian situations relating to East U.P. village assumes the following:

1. The basic structure of the village society or economy is destroyed by the colonial mode of production.
2. The urban-based process of rural development in particular and development as whole initiated and promoted in modern India on the colonial mode of production has made the village dependent on town, its agriculture on trade and industry belonging to the urban sector and its producers on urban producers.

3. Within the village, the poor peasants, tenants, agricultural and non-agricultural workers and artisans are dependent on the rich peasants or rural oligarch, local traders and merchants. In other words, there coexists a dualistic structure of dominant and dependent relations or dualistic technical form and character of class relations in production at the village.
4. The village possesses the characteristics of capitalism as a system-moulding force as well as those of the Asiatic Society because they are retained for holding and maintaining a structure of dependency as coexistence of dominant and dependent agrarian relations indicates.

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Chapter-2

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES IN CHANGING AGRARIAN SITUATION

"British steam and science uprooted over the whole surface of Hindustan, the union between agriculture and manufacturing industry".

K. Marx, 'The British Rule in India', The New-York Daily Tribune, June 25, 1853.

The existence of handicrafts and village industries characterises a historical continuity of the earlier mode of production in rural India wherein household is a unit of production, the producer is also the owner of the means of production, agriculture and manufacture are institutionally and technologically interlinked and inter-dependent, there is no division of labour within occupations and traditional skills, knowledge and technology are continuously reproducing static conditions of production. The colonial mode of production as superimposed by England during the British rule in India, destroyed "its inner and spontaneously grown and operating ties between agriculture and industry having based on the internal structure of social relations and indigenous traditional technology" and so handicrafts and village industries as an earlier mode of production were technologically and institutionally placed as a 'delinked' segment of production in the Indian Society.¹ The process of segmentation of handicrafts and village industries also continues to operate in post-independent India, despite some efforts made to develop these activities as outlined in the Industrial Policy Resolutions of

1956, 1978 and 1981 and in the Plan documents. An obvious reason for their segmentation has been the concentration of benefits from the application of modern science and technology in the organised formal sector of production, as the process of industrialisation in modern India indicates. The process of industrialisation (or for that matter, modernisation) promoted primarily through technology transfer, including technical know-how and scientific research and development, could not create technological complementarities for the development of handicrafts and village industries nor any appropriate techno-organisational linkages to establish some sort of functional rapport with these industries. Modern science-technology-based process of industrialisation in the formal sector along with fiscal and monetary measures have created a pattern of income distribution relations (and correspondingly a pattern of consumption) since the colonial days which has disfavoured the development of handicrafts and village industries.

II. Segmentary Characteristics of Village Industries

Two things have happened: firstly, rapid decline in handicrafts and village industries and secondly, the basic techno-economic structure of these industries has been under a constant process of breakage and disintegration since the colonial days. These industries whatever their number may be today have remained unorganised suffering from technological stagnation

and sterility, despite their significance in the Indian economy and the importance attached to them by the Industrial Policy of 1956 and 1978 and in different Plan documents. Thus handicrafts and village industries, as they stand and exist today, may be technologically and organisationally represented as a segmented part of production in the Indian economy. The Sixth Five Year Plan document affirms it in the following manner:

"While the traditional industries are generally artisan-based, located mostly in rural and semi-urban areas involve lower levels of investment in machinery and provide largely part-time employment : modern small-scale industries and power looms use mostly power-operated appliances and machinery have some technological sophistication and are generally located close to or in the urban areas including the large industrial centres".²

The spatio-segmentary characteristics of handicrafts and cottage industries show that they are primarily localised in rural areas. The 1971 Census indicates that a little more than 37 per cent of the total industrial workers are household industry workers and the rest are non-household industry workers. But three-fifths of the total industrial workers of rural India are household industry workers and the rest of them are non-household industry workers; and more than 82 per cent of the total industrial workers of urban India are non-household industrial workers, while only about 18 per cent of them are household industry workers. As far as U.P. is concerned, half of the industrial workers of the State are still

Table 1 : Distribution of Industrial Workers between Household and Non-household Industries in India and Uttar Pradesh

(in per cent)

Industrial Groups	Uttar Pradesh			India		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
<u>1971 Census</u>						
Household Industry	50.29	67.60	29.11	37.14	58.33	17.84
Non-household Industry	49.71	32.40	70.89	62.86	41.67	82.16
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<u>1981 Census</u>						
Household Industry	17.12	22.63	12.69	10.35	16.18	5.56
Non-household Industry*	82.88	79.37	87.31	89.65	83.82	94.44
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source : Economic Characteristics of Population, Paper 3, 1971 Census.

Note : * include all those workers who belong to 'other workers' category of the Census.

household industry workers and about 68 per cent of the total industrial workers belonging to the rural areas are household industry workers. Thus the distribution of industrial workers between household and non-household categories shows that household industry, comprising of handicrafts, cottage and village industries etc. is predominantly localised in rural (and also in semi-urban) areas but non-household industry in urban areas.

The segmentary characteristics of the traditional industries are not only spatial but also techno-organisational. Table 2 highlights some of the techno-organisational characteristics of these industries. The traditional industries bear a major part of labour absorption (as they engage more than 58 per cent of total employed persons); but they produce 13 to 16 per cent of total output which is quite low compared to the proportion of output produced by the modern small scale industries. This is also true in respect of U.P., if we look at Table 2. If the level of labour productivity is taken as a proxy to reflect the level/or state of technology used in the production process of the traditional and modern industries, then the same table shows that these industries are not technologically comparable. The fact is that the value of output per employed person varies from Rs.2140 in 1973-74 to Rs.3323 in 1979-80 in the traditional industries; while in the modern small scale industries it varies from Rs.183600 in 1973-74 to Rs.297467 in 1979-80. A wide range of differences in the level of productivity also exists between the organised and unorganised sectors in Uttar Pradesh; as Table 3 indicates. A primary data-based study done in the context of U.P. : rural industries by T.S. Papola³ has observed that the rural industrial sector (traditional industries in particular) practically absorbs all the labour available with households but at quite low level of productivity and income. The existence of greater employment load and low productivity in the traditional industries,

Table 2 : Relative Proportion of Output and Employment in Traditional and Modern Industries (All India)

	1973-74	1979-80
1. <u>Distribution of Value of Output (in per cent)</u>		
a. Traditional Sector	16.05	13.26
b. Modern Small Sector	67.50	74.20
c. Others	16.45	12.54
d. TOTAL	100.00	100.00
2. <u>Distribution of Employment in (%)</u>		
a. Traditional Sector	57.96	59.82
b. Modern Small Sector	28.15	31.59
c. Others	13.89	8.59
d. TOTAL	100.00	100.00
3. <u>Value of Output Per Employed Person</u>		
a. Traditional Sector	2140	3323
b. Modern Small Sector	183600	297467
c. Others	89480	168240

Source : Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85 (Part-II), Planning Commission, Government of India.

- Note : a. includes Khadi, Village Industries, Sericulture, Handlooms, Handicrafts.
- b. includes Small Scale Industries and Power looms. They have investment in plant and machinery upto Rs.20 lakhs (and in the case of ancilliary units upto Rs.25 lakhs).
- c. including units not covered under the specified industry groups.

in fact, characterises two things : firstly, the predominance of household-based form or organisation of production wherein mostly family labour force is employed; and secondly, the use of traditional technology due to which the productivity capacity of labour in these industries is quite low.

Table 3 : Relative Proportions of Output and Employment
in Organised and Unorganised Sectors in U.P.

	1974-75	1979-80
<u>Distribution of Output (per cent)</u>		
Unorganised Sector	32.00	31.00
Organised Sector	68.00	69.00
TOTAL	100.00	100.00
<u>Distribution of Employed Persons (in per cent)</u>		
Unorganised Sector	59.00	66.00
Organised Sector	41.00	34.00
TOTAL	100.00	100.00
<u>Value of Output</u>		
Unorganised Sector	8994	8483
Organised Sector	27293	37418
TOTAL	16553	18271

Source : Draft Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85 (Vol.I),
Government of U.P.

Given the use of traditional technology and the household form production, Table 4 shows that the traditional industries are not only low productivity-generating activities but also have low output elasticity of employment. With respect to U.P., the comparative picture of employment and productivity relating to the organised and unorganised sectors actually presents a more frustrating scene. The existence of

Table 4 : Output Elasticity of Employment in India
Between 1973-74 to 1979-80

	<u>Elasticity</u>
1. Traditional Sector	0.2926
2. Modern Small Sector	0.3654
3. Others	0.0231
4. All	0.2539

Output Elasticity of Employment in U.P.
(1974-75 to 1979-80)

1. Unorganised Sector	1.1423
2. Organised Sector	0.5034
3. Total	0.8001

low productivity with a declining trend from Rs.8994 in 1974-75 to Rs.8483 in 1979-80 and higher output elasticity of employment (i.e. 1.14) implies that the existing techno-organisational form of production simply creates a large pool of unproductive employment. All these characteristics alternatively reflect the nature of segmentation that exists between the traditional and formal sectors at the techno-organisational level of production.

The formal and traditional sectors are not only differentiable from the point of view of techno-organisational relations, that exist between them but also from the point of view of wage differentials and differences in the wage in-

tensity of output. The organisational sector having Rs.6093 and Rs.4417 per person employed in India and U.P. respectively shows that the wage level in that sector is ten times higher than that obtained in the traditional sector in both, India as well as in U.P. But the wage intensity of output in the traditional sector (belonging to both in India and U.P.) is twice of the wage intensity in the organised sector, as the table indicates. This implies that per 100 Rupees of output creates wages worth of Rs.23 to Rs.23 in the traditional sector, while the same amount of output creates wages worth of Rs.11-12 in the organised sector. The existence of high wage differentials between the formal and traditional sectors is not only product of their technological gap but also a result of differentials that exist between their respective productive levels. The existence of differentials in their wage intensity implies two things : a) a large portion of labour productivity is appropriated by producers in the formal sector; while less is appropriated by the producers in the traditional sector; and b) with given low level of wages, the emphasis on employment in the traditional sector leads to an increase in the wage intensity of its output but the technical form and relations of production remain such that the workers in the traditional sector are pauperised in the absence of a scale and organisation of production as found in the organised sector. In a process, the traditional sector retains the characteristics of the earlier modes of production in some form or other and consequently, the traditional sector helps

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in maintaining a structure of dependency for rural producers and artisans on those who belong to the organised urban sector. Thus the earlier mode of production is articulated in terms of programmes for the development of the traditional sector so that rural-urban dichotomy is retained through the existence of traditional sector.

Table 5 : Wages and Wage Intensity of Output

	Annual Total Earning Per Person Employed (in Rs.)	Wage Intensity of Output (in per cent)
<u>Organised Sector</u>		
a. India	6093	12
b. U.P.	4417	11
<u>Traditional Sector</u>		
a. India	445	28
b. U.P.	424	23

Notes : a. Calculated on the basis of Annual Survey of Industries data given in Statistical Abstracts of India, 1979-80. These data relate to 1976-77 reference period.

b. Calculated on the basis of data given in Statistical Statements to Annual Report, 1979-80, Khadi and Village Industries Commission.

c. Wage Intensity of output = $\frac{\text{Total Wage Bills}}{\text{Total Output}} \times 100$

III. Decline in Workers

If the series of Census data concerning distribution of industrial workers between household and non-household categories since 1901 are computed and compared, one may mark successive declines in household industry workers in India. So far the distribution of household industry workers between rural and urban India is concerned, the 1971-1981 Census indicate successive declines in the proportion of these workers to total workers in rural areas but successive increase in the proportion of workers belonging to urban India. It is also observed a some what similar trend in Uttar Pradesh. Table-6 shows that the proportion of total male workers to household industry male workers in rural U.P. declined from about 3.10 per cent in 1971 to 2.98 per cent in 1981. On the contrary, this proportion relating to total male workers in urban U.P. went up from 7.13 per cent in 1971 to 10.18 per cent in 1981. What do the successive declines in household industry

Table 6 : Distribution of Male Workers Between
Different Sectors

[illegible]

workers in rural areas but the successive increases in urban areas indicate ? The successive declines and increases in rural and urban areas respectively are in fact, a product of two historical phases of development - the colonial phase wherein the superimposed colonial mode of production destroyed indigeneous industries, skills and technologies; and secondly, the phase of post-independent India wherein the modern science-technology-based expansion of the formal sector at the colonial base led to the capitalist mode of production which created conditions leading to the pauperisation of petty producers of the traditional sector. The process of pauperisation also converted many of them into the class of agricultural labour. The increasing proportion of agricultural labourers to total work force bears a witness to this fact.⁴

All the above characteristics indicate that the traditional sector of petty producers remains segregated from the modern sector not only spatially but also technologically and organisationally as the historical process of change and development indicates in developing India. The segmentary characteristics of the traditional sector also seem to be retained by household-based approach to rural development, which in modern jargon is referred to as the 'minimum needs-based strategy' of development. Emphasis is laid on the development of the traditional sector by improving its technology for meeting historically prevalent demand for nonagricultural output. In this context, the concept of 'appropriate'

technology is also very much talked about. The idea behind this approach is to generate self-employment and self-income. By implication, this amounts to maintaining the elements of caste-activity association and occupational immobility in the traditional sector.

But the irony of the fact is that the economies of household production do not favour the application of improved technologies, even though available skills are capable of operating them. Hence the age-old traditional technologies continue to operate in the traditional sector of production and the long continuing traditional mode of production technologies has been subject to deprivation of the benefits from modern science and technology⁵. This has lead to form an impression among policy makers, scientists and social scientists that traditional pursuits and the rigidity of caste-activity association hinder the building of a scientific temper among local people and the application of modern scientific knowledge and technology in the process of production.

A The role of handicrafts and village industries in the development of rural India is very much lauded in common parlance, Plan and Policy documents because of the following: Firstly, the development of these activities can diversify the economic structure of the rural economy. Secondly, they are least capital-involving and most labour-oriented. Thirdly, they are the sources of self-employment and self-income creation. Fourthly, they only use local resources and skills hav-

ing no risk of dependency. Fifthly, they are the preserver of traditions, values and culture and so the development of these activities is taken as a matter of national pride and glory.

IV. Shift in Pattern

The above causal explanations are more 'populistic' than realistic. The historical realities of development as a process bear out the following cases, despite the efforts made by the Khadi Gramodyog and Village Industries Commission to develop handicrafts and cottage industries and by the policy measures and programmes of the Government to develop them through co-operatives of various types : a) conversion of village artisans as agricultural and non-agricultured workers leading to decline in handicrafts and village industries;⁶ and b) growth of urban informal sector as a product of the capitalist process of development which makes it subjugated to the formal sector.⁷ The first is caused by the transfer of agricultural technology in particular and emerging new agrarian production relations and corresponding distribution relations which have adversely affected the pattern of demand for traditional nonagricultural output and services. The second is caused by the migration of rural work force, which is itself a product of 'artificial' poverty creation in rural areas, and by the forces of capitalist development to enforce the modes of sub-contracting labour to maintain wages at low level, and mercantile the products including services

to supply them for earning profits in the urban informal sector. As a result, the activities like handicrafts and village industries do not experience the process of technological transformation as required for development. Credit and subsidies flow, but they help more in creating intermediaries in different forms and orders to exploit than in developing these activities. Intermediaries use money lending as a weapon to buy goods and services of the traditional sector at cheaper prices and so these activities yield low income for subsistence. Hence the technical conditions of production do not change but remain to be static. The oligopolistic control of trade over the supply of raw materials like oil-seeds, cotton, forest-based products, animal husbandry-based products etc. is another factor which adversely affects the operation of production in the traditional sector. The distribution pattern of raw materials belonging to the public sector is also unfavourable to these activities.

What does the above indicate? Handicrafts and village industries are techno-organisationally a segmented part of production which continues to exist, in some form or other, with the expansion of modern sector based on modern scientific knowledge and technology. Thus the co-existence of these two sectors presents a case of historical continuity of the pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of production. The dominance of the latter creates a number of forces to exploit the traditional units of production in different forms and orders.

As a result, the techno-organizational conditions of production do not change but continue to remain static and yield low income for subsistence.

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5. Please see T.S. Papola's study 'Production of Woolen Carpets in Kumaon and Garhwal' (GIDS, 1980) in which he shows how woolen carpet industry is experiencing stagnation and decline; and how technological innovations are needed for the expansion and development of this industry in the hilly regions of U.P. Alternatively, his study also stresses the need for innovating research (in terms of consumer tastes and technical, chemical and design aspects of its production) in order to overcome stagnation due to which a highly skill-intensive industry being a preserve of the Bhutia tribe is suffering from decline in production.

6. Please see H.K. Manmohan Singh's paper, 'Population Pressures and Labour Absorbability in Agriculture and Related Activities', Economic and Political Weekly, March 17, 1979; and Byers, T.J., 'The New Technology, Class Formation and Class Action in Indian Countryside', Journal of Peasant Studies, July, 1981.
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Chapter-3

THE VILLAGE IN VIEW

The village, Mairhi, is situated in Chandauli Tehsil of Varanasi district in Uttar Pradesh. The Varanasi district lies between the parallel of $24^{\circ}-56'$ and $25^{\circ}-35'$ north latitudes and $82^{\circ}-14'$ and $83^{\circ}-24'$ east longitude. Geographically the district lies in south-east region of the State. It is bounded on the west by the Allahabad district, on the north-west and north by Jaunpur, on the north-east and east by Ghazipur, on the south by Mirzapur and on the south-east by the State of Bihar separated by the Karamnasa river.¹ The village is located at the south-east part of the district at the bank of Karamnasa river. It is a distance of 10 Kms. away towards south-east from Block and Tehsil headquarter Chandauli.

The village is not easily approachable. The nearest railway and bus station is at Saiyad Raja located at a distance of 5 Kms. away from the village. There is no transport facility available from Saiyad Raja to the village. There are four bullock carts and twenty cycles in the village.

II. Village Settlement Pattern

The examination of village settlement pattern shows that the village is divided into Padas (wards, according to the caste distribution. The village can be divided into four main wards. The term ward does not mean separate entity.

Houses of one ward are very much near to another ward. It is observed that some times walls of the houses of two clusters touch each other though the entrance gates open in opposite directions. One ward is of Chamars, second is of Thakurs and Brahmins, third is a Mohamdens and the fourth is mixed consisting of all other castes of the village.

Village market is centrally located, made by the houses of Mohamdens and Baniyas who live in them also. Carpenters, blacksmiths and kumbhars have enough space in front of their houses to work. There are seven drinking water wells in the village. Chamars fetch water from the well located in their ward.

III. Demographic Aspect of the Village

According to the 1971 Census the total population of the revenue village Mairhi is 1069 distributed among 154 households. But as per block and revenue records the total population of Mairhi village is 840 which is distributed among 106 households.² There are two religious groups in Mairhi. The Hindu and the Muslims. Out of 106 households, there are 13 Muslims and rest are of Hindus. In addition, one Christian nurse also lives in the village which makes the total number of households 107. There are 16 castes among Hindus, 3 among Muslims and one Christian. The total population of the village is 841 out of which 53.15 per cent are males and 46.85 per cent are females, i.e. about 881 females per thousand males.

Table 1 : Religion-wise Number of Households

Sl.No.	Religion	Number of Households
1.	Hindu	93 (86.91)
2.	Muslim	13 (12.15)
3.	Christian	1 (00.93)
	TOTAL	107(100.00)

Keeping in mind the regional caste (among Hindus) variation and present caste situation, Brahman can be placed on the top and Chamar at the bottom of the hierarchy in terms of purity and pollution. Thakurs are numerically, economically and politically dominant in the village. 27.11 per cent of the total population is of Thakurs, 22.35 per cent is of Chamars and 12.48 per cent is of Brahmans. Remaining other 17 castes constitute 38.06 per cent of the village population.

Table 2 : Religion and Caste-wise No. of Households and Population

Sl. No.	Religion	Caste	No. of	Population		Total
			households	Male	Female	
1.	Hindu	Brahman	9.34	13.42	11.42	12.48
		Thakur	17.78	30.20	23.60	27.11
		Bania	3.78	3.35	3.30	3.33
		Kayastha	0.93	0.22	0.00	0.12
		Badhai	1.87	1.12	1.52	1.31
		Yadav	0.93	0.89	1.01	0.95
		Koire	4.67	4.47	4.31	4.40
		Kumbhar	3.78	2.24	3.04	2.61
		Bari	2.80	1.56	2.28	1.90
		Nai	1.87	1.56	1.27	1.43
		Panari	1.87	1.12	1.52	1.31
		Teli	0.93	0.45	1.01	0.71
		Kanhar	4.67	3.80	3.55	3.69
		Dhobi	3.78	2.24	4.57	3.33
2.	Muslim	Gond	2.80	2.01	1.78	1.90
		Chamar	25.23	21.25	23.60	22.35
		Dargi	3.78	2.24	3.81	2.97
3.	Christian	Churihara	3.78	3.58	4.57	4.04
		Dafali	4.67	4.25	3.55	3.92
3.	Christian	Catholic	0.93	0.00	0.05	0.12
		TOTAL	100.00	53.15	46.85	100.00

The occupational structure of work force in the village shows that cultivators and agricultural labours taken together constitute about 80 per cent of the total workers. The most characteristic feature of this village is that a little more than 49 per cent (nearly half) of the total workers are agricultural labourers. A little more than 5 per cent of them are also engaged in household industries. The rest of the village workers are engaged in trade and services. In this way, about 30 per cent of the village population are workers. The low level of participation in work force is low due to non-

Table 3 : Percentage of Irrigated Area and Workers Engaged in Different Activities : Mairhi Village

1. Total Net Cultivated Area (in acres)..	303
2. Percentage of Net Cultivated Area Irrigated sourcewise :	
a. Canal	.. 29.04
b. Tubewells	.. 25.08
c. Tanks	.. 4.30
TOTAL	.. 58.42
3. No. of Households	.. 154
4. Total Population	.. 1069
5. Total No. of workers	.. 313
6. Workers as percentage of total population	.. 29.28
7. Distribution of Workers:	
a. Cultivators	.. 95 (30.35)
b. Agricultural Labourers	.. 154 (49.20)
c. Household Industry	.. 16 (5.11)
d. Other than Household Industry	.. 2 (0.64)
e. Trade and Commerce	.. 20 (6.39)
f. Other services	.. 26 (8.31)
g. TOTAL	.. 303(100.00)

Source : 1971 Census.

participation of a major part of the female population in work force. About 478 females fall in the category of non-workers. This is also on account of institutional factors like caste, as the females belonging to Brahmins and Thakurs who constitute about 40 per cent of the village population do not participate in work force. All these demographic occupational characteristics of work force present a typical case of socio-economic backwardness of the village.

IV. Land, Peasants and Agriculture

Land is the chief source of village life. There exists peasant proprietaryship in land. But all peasants are not land owners. Some of them also cultivate land on lease from the owners. Many of them, however, operate marginal and small holdings. There is also large number of people who are related to land but only as its producers. They are landless but engaged in the cultivation of land as agricultural labourers. Table 4 shows that the landless households also constitute 33 per cent of the total households in the village. The marginal and small farm households constitute 42 per cent of the total households in the village. The farm households with a holding size of 10 acres and above are only 9.43 per cent of the total. The rest are in the categories of land holdings falling in between marginal-cum-small and households with above 10 acres holding size. All this presents a highly skewed pattern of land distribution, because a major portion

Table 4 : Distribution of Total Number of Households
By Operational Holdingsize : Mairhi Village

Holding Size-Groups (in acres)	Households	
	Total Number	Percentage
0. Landless	35	33.02
1. 0.01 - 2.50	32	30.19
2. 2.51 - 5.00	12	11.32
3. 5.01 - 7.50	7	6.61
4. 7.51 -10.00	10	9.43
5. 10.01 and above	10	9.43
6. All classes	106	100.00

of land is commanded by large and medium farm households. Moreover, there is an intermeshing of land with castes in the sense that most of the large and medium farm households come from the upper castes such as Thakurs and ~~a few Brahmins~~ who are also numerically dominant constituting 40 percent of the total village population. They also enjoy some kind of dominant socio-economic position in the village.

The landless labours, marginal and small farm households are the major source of supply for agricultural labour in the village. Most of the agricultural labourers coming from these groups of rural households belong to Chamar, Gond, Bari, Kanhar and Koire Jatis. During early seventies, the Government had allotted land because of various reasons. The result is that one out of three households is still without a piece of land in the village.

All this shows that a sizeable number of people depend on agricultural wages. The rate of payment is Rs.5.00 per day irrespective of sex and type of agricultural work but except harvesting. During the harvesting period labourers receive one bundle out of every 16 bundles he or she harvests. Mode of payment is in cash and kind both. Generally daily payment system is in practice.

Agriculture as a technology and methods of farming have undergone some changes in the village. The changes in agriculture can be seen in terms of changes in the method and techniques of tilling and irrigating land and in other agricultural operations. But these changes are ~~not~~ very significant, except in the case of power use in irrigation and state and private tubewells installed in the village for the sake of irrigating land. Previously, 'Jhum Cultivation' method was prevalent but not now because of the introduction of modern inputs and practices of farming in the village. All the peasants do not use them because of they are not neutral to farm size. Hence most of the peasants use local manure during field for sowing. They are also aware of chemical fertilizers and HYV or improved seeds. Those who use these modern inputs adopt broadcasting method in these fields.

It is found that the peasants mostly use locally made agricultural implements for tilling land and harvesting crops. No one possesses tractor in the village. However, one power-

operated thrasher is reported to be with a rich peasant. There are also a few bullock driven sugarcane crushers.

The village peasants grow two major crops - Rabi such as wheat, pulses and mustar oil-seeds, and paddy and sugarcane are grown in Kharif. A very few of them also grow summer crops such as urd, moong and jowar.

The peasants sell their products to the local Bania who takes it to Saiyad Raja Gramin Market. This marketing practice is quite old, except that market relations have grown due to growth in money as mode of exchange. They want to sell their products to the agency which offers higher price. But they could not do because of the lack of transport facilities.

V. Village Industries

"In all but the smallest villages, there are one or more skilled artisans or iron-smiths, who provide and repair the agricultural implements, bullock germ and water-lifts. The household requirements are supplied by a shop or two, whose owners frequently provide the first market for the village produce, and add to their earnings by engaging in money lending".³ This is what the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1926 wrote regarding the characteristics of self-contained villages in India. By the end of the same year, the colonial rulers had already broken the basic structure of

techno-socio-economic relations between agriculture and village industries and so village industries with their producers declined in number. However, the structure of dependency let these activities and artisans and craftsmen continue in broken form and orders in villages. That is why some artisan-based industries are found in most of the villages.

In the village, Mairhi, there are five village industries such as Bidi-making, Dholak-making, Pottery, Weaving, Carpentry and Black-smithy. In these industries, eleven households are engaged.

There are 16 workers engaged in these industries. All these industries are household-based using the traditional model of technology. Their respective production processes are also the same traditional one.

Pottery

There are four households of kumbhars in the village. They are still engaged in their traditional occupation - pottery. They make water containers like Ghara, Surahi, Bharuka, etc., Narea and Pathaki which are used as roof tiles in huts, and Dea for Diwali festival. All these items are sold in the village itself generally to the households which are fixed since generations. Still the traditional form of Jagmani System is prevalent as far as potters are concerned.

Every potter household is having a Chak (wheel) on which they put the clay and prepare earthen pots by hand. After making it dry potter puts these pots in 'Anwa' (temporary furnace) to bake it.

Carpentry

There is one household engaged in this activity. Carpentry is their traditional occupation. The household members make traditional agricultural implements like plough, 'jodi', handle of hand hoe, sickle, spade etc. and other items like door, window, etc. They prepare and repair these things since generations using the same technology and tools which their forefathers were using. For example, to smoothen the surface of wood they use a tool locally called 'randa', for cutting purpose they use hand saw locally called 'aree', for scraping they use 'bansuli'. All the tools operated by the carpenters are manually operated.

They sell their products in the village itself. This practice is prevalent since generations. Earlier their customers were fixed and they were selling their products or repairing the implements and tools only to them. Now this practice is not prevalent. They can sell or repair for any one whosoever comes to them. Earlier under the 'jagmani' system mostly the payment was made in kind. Now the payment is made in cash most of the time.

Carpenters purchase the tools from Chandauli and Varanasi. They get raw material like wood from the village itself. They purchase nails, etc. from Chandauli. There is no proper work-shop owned by the household. They work at the open space in front of the house or in the front room of the house during rains or in summers.

Blacksmithy

There is one more carpenter who works as blacksmith in the village. There is no 'lohar' as such in the village. Blacksmithy is not his traditional occupation. As there were no 'lohar' in the village and villagers had to go to nearby villages or Saiyad Raja to get iron implements repaired. The father of the present blacksmith had started blacksmithy along with carpentry.

Mostly repair work is done by the blacksmith as the villagers purchase implements from Chandauli or Varanasi. The payment is made in cash.

Bidi and Dholak-making

There are two dholak making and one bidi making households. They are from the Muslim communities. The dholak makers also repair umbrella and locks in addition to dholak making. Dholak making as an activity is in the process of decay because of the lack of demand for dholaks in the village and its neighbouring villages. The demand is continuously

declining because the new culture of change and development has adversely affected the practices of folklore songs in the villages which were an integral part of village community life in the past. However, they are sustaining this activity in some form or other, being a part of their traditions persisting from one generation to another.

The bidi maker is a muslim professional who is engaged in this activity as an art of his life. He fully depends on it and in the absence of any suitable alternatives, he has to sustain it at the household level. Moreover, the presence of some local demand arising from the people of lower income strata makes his household survive on this occupation.

Weaving Industry

There are two weavers in the village - one Muslim and other, harijan. Weaving is a traditional activity for the Muslim and non-traditional for the Harijan one. The Muslim weaver makes sari and decorates it with jaries and other shining materials. But he is not the owner of handloom nor he purchases materials for making sari. He works like a skilled worker because he has got Kargha and regularly receives raw materials from the Mahajan who is the owner of that means of production and regularly supplies raw materials to the weaver. He gets wages from the Mahajan in lieu of saris that he makes for him.

The other weaver is a Dari maker who belongs to the scheduled caste. He is an educated young man engaged in this activity because he did not get a job in the Government sector. He is not an owner of the means of production that he has for making dari nor buys raw materials for making dari. He simply gets wages as per contract from the owner of the means of production and supplier of raw materials. But he operates this activity with the help of some hired skilled workers in the village. In both cases, the owners of Karghas belong to Banaras who also supply raw materials to these two weavers.

Business

The Bania and Muslim are the only traders in the village. There are three shops in the village. In these shops commodities of daily use like kerosene oil, edible oil, bidi, match box, salt, grains, vegetables, gur, cloths, etc. are sold. Generally exchange system is followed in the purchase of daily use commodities. There is a flour mill in the village which belongs to a rich Thakur. There is an expeller and thrasher owned by a Thakur.

VI. Infrastructure

Post Office : There is a branch post office in the village. Two employees are working in it, one as post master and the other is postman. Both these persons are brothers and belong to Mairhi village. This post office provides the

registration and money order facilities in addition to sale of stamps and other stationery. The post office is located in a room of post masters' residence.

Electricity : The village is electrified since 1974, but so far there is no domestic connection taken by villagers. It is used for irrigation purpose. First connection was given to a State Tubewell installed during 1974 in the village. It was observed that few dominant villagers have taken the direct connections from the nearby electric poles and enjoying to electricity facility in their houses. Rate of electric line trapping is very high.

Education : There are one primary and one ^{school} junior high/ functioning in the village. The primary school had started around fifty years ago. In the beginning there were 30-35 students and one teacher in the school. At present there are 225 students and 8 teachers. The school is functioning in a big hall. There is no partition for different classes (first to fifth standard).

There are 200 students and 9 teachers in the Junior High School. This school is functioning since 1969. It has three class rooms for 6 sections in the school.

High school and Intermediate college is at Saiyad Raja and Chandauli located at a distance of 5 and 10 Kms. respectively from the village.

Health and Family Planning : There is a Maternity and Child Welfare Centre in the village. One Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) and an Aya (female peon) are working in the centre. Apart from this there is no medical facility available in the village. The nearest hospital is at Chandauli located at a distance of 10 Kms.

There is no Veterinary Hospital in the village. The nearest Veterinary Hospital is located at Chandauli. It is very difficult for cattle owners to take sick cattles upto 10 Kms. for their treatment.

Other Facilities : The Village Level Worker (VLW) lives in Chandauli and rarely visits the village. Most of the farmers have never seen Block Development Officer (BDO), so far.

There is a Cooperative Society (Saghan Sahkari Samiti, Mairhi) functioning in the village. Villagers purchase fertilizers, sugar, cloth, soap, dalda, etc. from this society. For the purchase of HYV seeds, farmers go to Chandauli or Varanasi because Cooperative Society does not sell it. Now the office bearers of this society are making efforts to arrange the sale of HYV seeds through it.

The village is headquarter of Gram Panchayat and Sarpanch lives in this village. There is no Gram Panchayat building.

What all the above presents is a typical North Indian village which is experiencing some new changes in its economy. The caste elements present some kind of stubborn village society which is in fact moulding but gradually. An overall impression leads to this fact that the village is not closed but exposed to the outer sides and forces and it presents a picture of development but under the dense clouds of under-development.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Primary Census Abstract, Varanasi District, 1971.
2. There is a small village Lahladpur which is located at a distance of .25 Kms. from Mairhi. It seems that this habitation is also included in Mairhi village in Census figures as there is no record of Lahladpur given in 1971 district Census Handbook.
3. The National Commission on Agriculture in India, Central Government Press, Bombay, 1928, p.5-6.

Chapter-4

CHARACTERISTICS OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT AND CLASS RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURE

"The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns".

Marx, The Communist Manifesto

"Capitalism penetrates into agriculture particularly slowly and in extremely varied forms".

Lenin, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia".

Agrarian relations are composed of land held as one of the chief sources of production, producers' relations to land, agriculture as a technology and methods of working the soil (i.e. farming), and social relations that exist between village and town, agriculture and industry, and rural and urban producers. The form of holding land as a basic source of production and producers' relations to land constitute land relations. The relations of producers to land and agriculture as a technology and methods of farming determine production relations in agriculture. It is the relations in production which determine the socio-economic structure of production in agriculture. The characteristic pattern of social relations between village and town, agriculture and industry, and rural and urban producers corresponds to an overall socio-economic structure of production (i.e. a sum total of production relations) that exists in the economy. Alternatively, it implies that these social relations manifest an overall socio-economic structure of production.

The socio-economic structure of production in agriculture exists not in isolation from the overall one but as an integrated part of the total one. There is always some kind of specific correspondence between them. Hence all these relations-land, production and social - are not independent of one another; so far their coexistence and functional relationships are concerned.

What all this implies is that agrarian relations embrace not only land and production relations but also the social relations between village and town, agriculture and industry, and rural and urban producers. In a way, it also means that agrarian relations lie in both, the socio-economic structure of production in agriculture and that of production as a whole.

II. Characteristics of Changes in Socio-Economic Structure of Production

Available evidence indicates the emergence of capitalism as a system-moulding force in the socio-economic structure of production in rural India. But the spurt of this force has not been spatially uniform nor its influence in the socio-economic structure of production. As a result, the emergent new relations in production, i.e. capitalist, coexist and function along with some earlier production relations such as Asiatic or precapitalist¹. The coexistence of new production relations with earlier ones is predominantly found in rural areas of the Indian economy. There are also towns wherein the old production

relations exist even today. Despite all this, capitalism has emerged to be a dominant system-moulding force in the socio-economic structure of production in the country.

The spatial variations in the emergence and development of capitalism as a system-moulding force in the socio-economic structure of production appear to be on the rural scene due to a number of factors such as 'the existence of family labour based farms; growth of money capital, trade and commerce which hold back the process of accumulation and investment; the existence of household and village industries based on traditional technologies and skills; lopsided land augmenting technological development in agriculture; restrictive process of rural industrialisation due to the growth of money capital and promotion of traditional technology-skill based household and village industries; the existence of a wide gap of technological development between agriculture and industry; and the existence of semi-feudal elements in rural areas'.² In fact, the retention of some of the basic characteristics of the Asiatic or precapitalist modes of production are causing such spatial variations in rural India. Growth of informal activities and the predominance of trade and commerce over industry lead to spatial variations in the socio-economic structure of production in urban India. The growth of informal activities retains the characteristics of precapitalist relations in some form or other. The village isolation that existed in terms of self-contained village communities for centuries was firstly broken

by the colonial creation of centre-periphery nexus of market and trade relations with partial but purposive technology transfer and then by the urban centred capitalist process of development initiated and promoted by the State in free India. As a consequence, the villages could not remain isolated from the influence of development of capitalism as a system-moulding force in the socio-economic structure of production in the village economy. The village, as a unit of rural society, has become an integrated part of the capitalist structure of production and capitalist relations in production are also emerging at the village level. The appearance of such relations is not uniform in villages nor the development of capitalism is independent there but dependent on the urban process of development. Moreover the articulation of development for poor peasants, agricultural labourers, and artisan based village and household industries in the policy-frame of planning for national development sustains some of the basic characteristics of the earlier modes of production in the villages. In this way, the caste-activity nexus of production relations is sustained and this nexus of production relations retains castes not as inseparable parts of the village community based mode of production and cooperation but as its disintegrating units.

The prevailing situations arising from the capitalist process of development indicate some kind of ^{dialectical} interactions between a tendency to 'disintegration' and a tendency towards 'differentiation' in the village economy, but being subject to

its dependency on urban specific-capitalist development. The disintegrating tendency is evident from a number of forces at play in the countryside, as a result of which the village has ceased to be a community, and has become an arena for conflict between diverse groups. 'The interests of the different castes living in the village no longer converge, and the points of friction between them have increased'.³ In fact, caste relations in production are conversing with new production relations in agriculture as they appear in the village.⁴ Development of capitalism in agriculture has set in a tendency towards differentiation of peasantry in the village. This development is the root cause for both tendencies and their diabetical interactions because it is dependent on the urban centred capitalist process of development and in turn it also retains some of the characteristics of the earlier modes of production in the countrysides. Hence the old traditional characteristics of caste relations in production are gradually dissolving and converging with new production relations in the village. At the same time, the retention of some of their old characteristics also presents a case of divergence between caste and class relations in production. The case of divergence between caste and class relations in production is underlined more in the context of an Indian village because of the hold of traditional relations among the people of given castes which are retained there due to kinship and heredity. But the growth of money as a power to command over all goods and services is cutting across caste-barriers and the traditional relations

among the people belonging to different castes which is in fact a product of capitalist development. The disintegrating joint family in the village is a pointer to this fact. However, caste-groupings as found in the countrysides in recent years are in fact a product of the dialectics of dominant and dependent agrarian relations in production in rural India.

What all this indicates are the following : firstly, the emergence of capitalism as a system-moulding force has changed (or is changing) the socio-economic structure of production in an Indian village; secondly, capitalist relations in production have emerged there; thirdly, caste relations in production are converging with those new relations in production at the village level; fourthly, the village as a community is disintegrating but as a part of the total socio-economic structure of production is differentiating from one class to another, so far the process of agricultural production is concerned; fifthly, some of the basic elements of the earlier modes of production are also being retained in the village; and sixthly, there coexist dominant and dependent agrarian relations but the village as such is dependent for its development on urban specific based markets, trade, commerce and industry.

III. Characteristics of Development in the Village

Emergence and development of capitalism as a dominant system-moulding force has brought about changes in the socio-economic structure of production in agriculture in Indian villages. The structure has experienced changes because of transformation of the feudal form of holding land as a means of production into that of peasant proprietaryship, introduction and spurt of technological development in agriculture, evolution of new relations in production, development of money-commodity relations, and drawal of the entire village economy into the vortex of exchange relations with urban market production of commodity.

The prevailing pattern of land relations in Mairhi village shows that all producers are not the owners of land. Table 1 shows that about 38 per cent of the total number of households

Table 1 : Distribution of Households and Area According to Operational Holding Size Groups

(in per cent)			
Household group in terms of operational holding size group (in Acres,	Households	Owned area under cultivation	Total operated Area
1. Landless	37.93	Nil	Nil
2. Marginal (upto 2.50)	37.93	11.21	17.57
3. Small (2.51 to 5.00)	3.44	3.87	3.60
4. Medium (5.01 to 10.00)	6.88	13.57	12.60
5. Large (10 +)	13.82	71.35	66.23
6. All	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note : 1. Only the marginal farm households operate leased-in area;

2. No land owning households reported to have leased-out any piece of their land.

attached to agriculture are landless agricultural labourers. They do not own nor operate a piece of land in the village. The rest of the households own or operate land. A majority of the peasant households are land owners. There is one only peasant who cultivates leased-in area. There are some peasants who cultivate leased-in area in addition to their owned land. In this way, the form of peasant proprietaryship and producers' relations to land present the following categories of peasants - owner-peasant, owner-cum-tenant peasant, pure tenant, and landless agricultural labourer.

The pattern of distribution of land **ownership** shows that the peasants having holding size of 10 acres and above own and cultivate a little more than 71 per cent of the total owned cultivation. The marginal and small peasants constituting 41 per cent of the total households own and cultivate only 15 per cent of the total owned area under cultivation. The rest is owned and cultivated medium peasants who constitute about 7 per cent of the total number of households. In this way, about two-third of the area is concentrated among the peasants with holding size of 10 acres and above.

'In every village, there is a land relations pyramid and caste pyramid, and the two are intermeshed inextricably'.⁵ The pattern of caste relations in Mairhi village shows that 83 per cent of the total cultivated area of the village is owned and operated by the peasants of Rajput caste who constitute

only 20 per cent of the total number of households. All Thakurs but except one own and operate holding size of 10 acres and above. The rest of the area is owned and operated by intermediate castes and Harijans. Thus the pyramidical pattern of land and caste relations shows Rajput as dominant caste in the village.

On the eve of Independence, Mairhi village had sustained traditional agriculture; so far techniques and methods of farming were concerned. Farming was heavily dependent on Monsoons. Wells and ponds were the main sources of irrigation. The methods of irrigating land were traditional in the sense that local hand operated or bullock driven methods of water-lifts were used by the farmers. 'Jhum cultivation' was very much prevalent. Only wooden ploughs and other local agricultural implements were used in agricultural operations. Use of fertilizer was quite uncommon to the peasants. Local manures were in use. Wheat, bajra, barley, tur and gram, were the food crops grown in the village. Paddy cultivation was not very common nor the cultivation of sugarcane. Potato and onion were grown by Koeri, being a traditional vegetable growing caste, with the help of well irrigation. All these characterise the existence of traditional agriculture as a technology and methods of farming in the village. It was in fact due to the feudal form of holding land as a means of production and peasants' relations to land in the village.

Table 2 : Changes in Agricultural Practices and Use of Modern Inputs

Household Group	Percentage of Households Reporting Self-ploughing	Sources of Irrigation	Year of Using Fertilizers	Crops under Cultivation in 1951	Purchase of Inputs in 1981-82	Place Agency
1. Marginal	99	x Wells and Ponds one of them and pump reported to sets have no irrigation	1951-52	Wheat, Paddy, Barley, Wheat, Bajra, Tur, Gram, Rape-seeds, Peas, Tur, Potato	Mostly from Co-operative village Society and shop	
2. Small	100	x Well	1972	Varying from 1972 to 1979 (two of them reported to non-use of HYV and Onion	Barley, Paddy, Gram, Peas, Tur, Wheat, Sugarcane	Village Co-operative Society
3. Medium	x	100 Well	1970	Barley, Paddy, Gram, Tur, Wheat, Onion	Both village shop and Co-operative town Society	
4. Large	x	100 Well	Two used in 1964 and pump-sets 1968, & for others, vary from 1970-72	Barley, Paddy, Gram, Peas, Tur, Wheat, Onion, Paddy	Towns Shop and Co-operative Society	

Note : Paddy was cultivated by two of the large farm households.

Table 3 : Characteristics of Productive Development in Agriculture in the Village

1. Percentage of irrigated area	100
2. Sourcewise distribution of irrigated area:	
a. Canal	74
b. Private Tubewells	24
c. State Tubewells	2
3. Percentage of total cropped area (TCA)	78
4. Intensity of cropping	143
5. Percentage of TCA under Fertilizers Consumption	86
6. Fertilizers Consumption Per Acre of TCA (in Rs.)	101
7. Use of Modern Agricultural Machinery and Implements Per Acre of TCA (in Rs.)	425
8. Percentage of TCA under Commercial Crops	18
9. Percentage of Agricultural Produce Marketed by Producers	69
10 Proportion of Net Producer-Buyer to Total Number of Producers	29
11 Proportion of Total Purchase to Total Consumption of Foodgrains (for net producers-buyers)	70
12 Intensity of Consumption of Urban Produced goods.	
a. Total Consumption	43
b. Total Agricultural Output	58
13 Percentage of Pure Purchases of Foodgrains	37
14 Capitalist Peasants (as percentage of total households)	28

Note : 1. Net producers-buyers are those who purchase more foodgrains for consumption than what they produce

2. Intensity of consumption of urban produced goods:

12 a. $\frac{\text{Total value of urban goods consumed}}{\text{Total consumption expenditure}} \times 100$

12 b. $\frac{\text{Total value of urban goods produced}}{\text{Total value of Agricultural Production}} \times 100$

But over a period of time since the inception of planning, agriculture as a technology and methods of cultivation underwent substantial changes because of new developments in the forces of production. The transformation of the feudal form of holding land as a means of production into that of peasant proprietaryship leading to self-resumption of cultivation also helped in the introduction and spurt of new developments in the forces of production in agriculture. These developments in the forces of production occurred in the shape of land augmenting technological changes such as irrigation and new farm technology as a package of HYV, fertilisers and other modern inputs and practices. Development of power and accessibility of peasants to urban based credit and input markets facilitated the process of mechanisation in agriculture. Table 3 shows how agriculture in the village experienced new developments in the forces of its production. So far land augmenting technological changes are concerned, the same table indicates that all land is irrigated by canal, and state and private tubewells; about 78 per cent of the total cropped area is brought under HYV and improved variety of seeds based technology; 86 per cent of the cropped area is under fertilizers consumption which refers to an amount of Rs.101 as fertilisers consumption per acre of the cropped area; and the value of modern agricultural machinery and implements used per acre of the cropped area is Rs.425. The village has also accessibility to the use of power (i.e., electricity) in agricultural operations.

The spurt of land augmenting technological changes has increased the prospects of double cropping in the village. The intensity of cropping being 143 there bears a witness to this fact. Moreover, these changes have also widened the technical range of substitutability between crops in agriculture. The cropping pattern shows that paddy and sugarcane cultivation has resumed an important part of farming in the village which was not prevalent in the early Fifties. In those early days, wheat and bajra were staple food crops but now paddy and wheat are staple crops. The cultivation of commercial crops was nominal in the past, but now 18 per cent of the total cropped area is under commercial crops. All these developments in agriculture as a technology and methods of farming indicate the spurt of new developments in the forces of production in agriculture.

The transformation of the feudal form of land holding and the spurt of new developments in agriculture have also led to the emergence of new relations in production, called capitalist. These new production relations show that many a peasants own and use new farm technology in the process of farm production. These peasants do not hire out their family labour but hire in labour in the performance of different agricultural operations and the hired-in agricultural labourers work with the help of new capital inputs owned by the employer-peasants. This class of peasants constitute about 28 per cent of the total number of rural households. The capitalist peasants, by and large, own and operate large holding size of farm

and control command over a major portion of the supply of agricultural produce and marketed surplus in the village. However they have also monopolistic control over the supply of material resources and enjoy a place of dominance in the socio-economic power in the village.

All sections of the village population drawn into the arena of money-commodity relations - whether they are rich or poor or land-owning peasants or agricultural labourers. The market production of agricultural commodity shows that 69 per cent of the value of total agricultural produce is marketed by the peasants. All agricultural labourers fully depend on market for foodgrain consumption, as they get wages mostly in cash. The poor peasants who suffer from food deficit also purchase foodgrains for consumption and so they also depend on market for consumption. They buy foodgrains with money which they get in terms of wages from the sale of their labour power in agriculture. All these characteristics of market production and consumption of foodgrains indicate that all the sections of the population are drawn into the vortex of money-commodity relations.

Development of market as a category of commodity economy and the emergence of money as a power to command all goods and services have intensified the bonds of exchange relations between village and town in rural India. Moreover, growing demand for urban-produced goods and services in rural areas, as a result of changes in the material conditions of production

in agriculture, has also brought villages close to urban areas. The existing pattern of consumption relations between agricultural commodity and urban produced goods and services which are mediated through money in commodity and other markets shows how rural and urban producers are interrelated and have narrowed the physical distance between village and town. The type and character of contact between them is another indicator to show the development of exchange relations between village and town.

The intensity of consumption of urban-origin goods and services and urban contacts of the village households show how Mairhi village and its producers are drawn into the vortex of exchange relations with urban areas and producers. The intensity of urban consumption which is 43 relating to total consumption expenditure in the village indicates the pattern of consumption relations between urban-origin goods and all the commodities including fertilizers consumed by all households in the village. The intensity of urban consumption relating to total agricultural produce being 58, similarly refers to the pattern of urban produced goods and agricultural commodities produced in the village. It also measures outflow of money from the village to the urban areas through market forces.

These two are in fact a result of exchange relations between the village and urban areas which are mediated through money in the commodity and input markets. In a way, they also refer to the characteristic pattern of money relations that the village has with urban areas.

Table 4 : Distribution of Households Reporting Visit to Town and the Purpose of Visit

Household Groups	Percentage of Total Household Reported	Percentage of Households Reporting Visits to Towns	Purpose of visits								
			At least once		Year						
			in a month	Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 8 9
1. Landless	64	45		19	9	27	9	9	10	x	x x x
2. Marginal	55	27		28	9	28	x	x	x	18	x x x
3. Small	100	100		x	x	x	x	x	x	100	x x x
4. Medium	100	100		x	x	50	x	50	x	x	x x x
5. Large	100	100 (Daily)		x	x	25	x	x	x	x	50 25

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Notes : a. Names of Towns: Varanasi, Chandauli, Saiyad Raja.

b. In the last group, the first two towns are only reported.

1 = Search for job, 2 = for purchasing, 3 = on behalf of master or employer, 4 = entertainment and just for visiting purpose, 5 = service, 6 = to meet relatives, 7 = business, 8 = study, and 9 = political purpose.

The physical contact of the village people with towns like Varanasi, Chandauli and SaiyadRaja also indicate how the village has come closer to them; despite these towns being 50, 19 and 5 Kms. respectively away from the village and having no direct road or rail connection and means of transport. Table 4 shows that a majority of the village households pay visits to these towns at least once in a month with some purpose. The small and large farm households have reported that their family members daily visit either Varanasi or Chandauli or SaiyadRaja or any two of them. The members of the small farm households visit daily for business purpose. The purpose to visit for the large farm household members is three fold-marketing, study and political reason. The visits to these towns by the members of the village households for specific reasons characterise not only their physical contacts with urban areas but also money-cum-exchange relations which they have with urban markets.

IV. Characteristics of Class Relations in Agriculture

The characteristics of development in Mairhi village manifest development of capitalism as a system-moulding force in the socio-economic structure of production in agriculture. This force has led to the emergence of a class of peasants who use new capital inputs in farming, market a portion of their agricultural produce and have commercialised a part of farming for market production. In other words, these characteristics reflect that the peasantry attached to land and technical

means of production is differentiable in the village. But these characteristics are not enough for differentiating peasantry in terms of different classes.

Lenin has classified peasantry in terms of different classes on the basis of three coordinates of reference - family labour/wage labour, subsistence income/surplus income, and the size of land holdings.⁶ Here the first coordinate of reference, i.e. family labour/wage labour is taken for differentiating peasantry from one class to another in the context of Mairhi village because the existence of wage labour assumes alienation of the owners of labour power from the ownership of the means of production, i.e. 'that kind of property which exploits wage labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage labour for fresh exploitation'.⁷ The existence of wage labour also implies the emergence of a group of 'entrepreneurs who present a demand for the labour power of the rural proletariat'.⁸ The coexistence of these two classes present an 'interdependence between the formation of a class of rural entrepreneurs (ie., peasant bourgeoisie) and the expansion of the bottom of the peasantry, i.e. the increase in the number of rural proletarians'.⁹ Moreover, the form of hiring labour on wages in agriculture is 'very peculiar and very characteristic of capitalist agriculture'.¹⁰ and this process characterises social relations existing between hirers and hired' and they also reflect some kind of 'a commercial transaction for purchase and sale of labour power'.¹¹ The purchase and sale of labour power by a peasant also define his relative class position in production.

By using the coordinate of reference family labour/wage labour or speaking more precisely hired-in/ hired out labour power reference, the peasantry in the village is divided into five classes¹²:

- (a) $SE = 0$; $HI > 0$; $HO = 0$
- (b) $SE > 0$; $HI > 0$; $HO = 0$
- (c) $SE > 0$; $HI = 0$; $HO = 0$
- (d) $SE > 0$; $HI = 0$; $HO > 0$
- (e) $SE = 0$; $HI = 0$; $HO > 0$

(SE refers to self-employment, HI to hired-in labour and HO to hired-out labour)

The first stands for the class of capitalist landlords who do not employ their family labour nor hire-out their family labour but only hire-in labour from others in agriculture. The second refers to rich/capitalist peasants who employ their family labour, hire-in labour but do not hire-out their family labour in off-farms. The third one is a class of family peasants who simply employ their family labour in agriculture but do not hire-out nor hire-in labour. The fourth describes the class of poor peasants who do not hire-in labour from others but only hire-out their family labour in addition to their self-employment. The last refers to the class of agricultural labourers who fully depend on hiring out of their labour power in other farms. Hence the question of self-employment and hiring-in labour does not arise because they do not own or operate a piece of land for cultivation.

In Mairhi village the class of a capitalist landlord is completely absent because none of the households is found to have the characteristics of this class. All the other classes are observed in the village. The class distribution of agricultural households shows that 69 per cent of the total number of households in fact belong to the poor peasants and landless agricultural labour classes. Only about 28 per cent of the households are in the capitalist peasant class. The family peasant class is not significant because only one peasant is found to have the characteristics of this class. Table 5 indicates that a majority of the households belonging to the capitalist peasant class are from the medium and large holding sized groups of land. The poor peasants as a class belong to the marginal farm size group. The family peasant operates marginal

Table-5 : Class Distribution of Households by Holding Sized Groups

Classes	Land-less	Marginal Holding	Small Holding	Medium Holding	Large Holding	All Groups
1. Capitalist Landlords	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
2. Rich/Capitalist Peasants	Nil	3.44 (12.50)	3.44 (12.50)	6.88 (25.00)	13.82 (50.00)	27.58 (100.00)
3. Family Peasants	Nil	3.44 (100.00)	Nil	Nil	Nil	3.44 (100.00)
4. Poor Peasants	Nil	31.05 (100.00)	Nil	Nil	Nil	31.05 (100.00)
5. Landless Agricultural Labourers	37.93 (100.00)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	37.93 (100.00)
6. All classes	37.93	37.93	3.44	6.88	13.82	100.00

Note : Figures within brackets refer to percentage distribution of households of a given class by holding sized groups.

land holding. Thus the class distribution of agricultural households by holding sized groups indicates that the capitalist peasants, by and large, come from those households which operate large holdings, and the poor peasants come from those households which operate marginal land holdings.

The capitalist peasants who constitute about 28 per cent of the total number of households command control over

Table-6 : Class-wise Distribution of Cultivated and Irrigated land, Modern Inputs, Output and Marketed Surplus

Items	Capitalist Peasants	Family Peasants	Poor Peasants	All Together
1. Percentage of Net Cropped Area (NCA)	88.76	2.03	9.21	100.00
2. Percentage of Gross Cropped Area (GCA)	86.61	2.24	11.15	100.00
3. Percentage of Net Irrigated Area	88.76	2.03	9.21	100.00
4. Percentage of GCA Under HYV	86.62	2.65	10.73	100.00
5. Percentage of GCA Under Fertilizers Consumption	85.37	2.39	12.24	100.00
6. Percentage of GCA under Commercial Groups	95.46	1.02	3.52	100.00
7. Cropping Intensity	143	109	156	141
8. Value of Fertilizers Use Per Acre of GCA (in Rs.)	112	107	83	101
9. Value of Modern Agri-Machinery and Implements Per Acre of GCA(in Rs.)	426	Negligible		425
10. Productivity Per Acre of GCA	2200	2320	2042	2060
11. Percentage of Agricultural Production	86.29	2.76	10.95	100.00
12. Percentage of Total Sale of Agricultural Output	91.29	2.32	6.39	100.00

the supply of land, capital inputs, production and marketed surplus of agricultural produce. It is these peasants who cultivate commercial crops and command control over 95 per cent of the total area under these crops in the village. They are also the main employers of landless agricultural labourers in the village. The peasants of all classes cultivate more than one crops, as the cropping intensity indicates. Considering the availability of irrigation and use of inputs, the levels of average productivity do not seem to be significantly high for the peasants of all classes and for the capitalist peasants in particular.

All this shows that the capitalist peasants have monopolistic control over the supply of the means of production and agricultural output and surplus. It is thus natural for them to have control over the flow of incomes from agriculture and other sources. Table-7 shows that these capitalist peasants control 67 per cent of the total incomes in the village, while the relative shares of the family peasant, poor peasants and landless agricultural labourers in the total incomes of the village are 2.05 per cent, 12.17 per cent and about 19 per cent respectively. The incomes from agriculture constitute about 78 per cent of the total incomes of the capitalist class. The same table shows that agriculture is the only source of income generation for the family peasant and for the poor peasants, it is supplementary. They derive about 47 per cent of their total incomes from agricultural wages, while the proportion of incomes from agriculture is 44 per cent. Some of the

Table-7 : Class-wise of Distribution of Incomes from Different Sources

Class Groups	Sources of income from (in percentage)					Total income per household (in Rs.)	P.C. distribution of incomes
	Agricultural wages	Non-Agricultural wages	Self-employment in non-agril. units	Service sector	Agril. produce		
1. Capitalist Peasants	Nil	Nil	3.84	18.21	77.95	18861	67.25
2. Family Peasant	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	100.00	4600	2.05
3. Poor Peasants	46.50	Nil	9.17	Nil	44.33	3780	12.17
4. Landless Agricultural Labourers	67.35	0.42	19.25	12.98	Nil	3034	18.53
5. All	18.13	0.07	7.27	14.65	59.88	7737	100.00

family members of the poor peasants being self-employed in some household activities like tailoring and petty business also add to their total incomes. The agricultural labourers depend on agricultural wages which form 67 per cent of their total incomes. They have also some of the family members engaged in small household activities and in the service sector. Hence they derive the rest of their income from these two sources that constitute 33 per cent of their total incomes. In this way, the total income flows per household from different sources for different classes indicate that the level of per household income is many times higher for the capitalist peasants than what is found for the peasants of other classes and agricultural labourers.

The composition of total incomes from different sources shows that agriculture contributes about 60 per cent, agricultural wages 18 percent, the service sector about 15 per cent and non-agricultural wages and self-employment in household activities a little more than 7 per cent of the total village incomes. The percentage share of agricultural wages being 18 per cent indicates that this share is small when about 78 per cent of the households primarily depend on agricultural wages in the village. The relative share of agricultural wages is small because of the prevalence of low wage rate (i.e Rs.5 per day) and the dependence of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers on the capitalist class of peasants. It also implies that the process as well as the level of development is low and the old relations in production still act as an important force against the development of capitalism in the village.

The characteristic patterns of relations between income and consumption and between purchase and sale of agricultural commodities and urban produced goods relating to different classes of peasantry in the village show how they are related to commodity market, being influenced by the forces of urban market. Their respective relations between incomes and consumption indicate that the peasants of all the classes including landless agricultural labourers save some amounts of money income. Table-8 points out that the capitalist peasants save a total amount of Rs.80259; while the savings of other classes

do not exceed Rs.3600 per year. Their relative saving positions indicate that the capitalist peasants have dominating position in the formation of money capital, as during the

Table-8 : Class-wise Distribution of Incomes, Savings, Consumption and Purchase and Sale of Commodities

	Capitalist Peasants	Family Peasant	Poor Peasants	Landless Agri. Labourers
1. Total Income (in Rs.)	150886	4600	27308	41575
2. Total Consumption Expenditure(in Rs)	70627	3493	23725	38622
3. (1 - 2)	80259	1107	3583	2953
4. Proportion of Food- grain Sale to Total Foodgrain produc- tion	80	63.47	40	Nil
5. Proportion of Total Number of Producers- Buyers of Foodgrains to Total Number of Producers	50	100	88	100*
6. Proportion of Total Foodgrain Purchase to Total Consumption of Foodgrains	7	6	38	100*
7. Proportion of Total Foodgrain Purchase to Total Foodgrain Sale	2	4	56	Nil
8. Proportion of Consump- tion of Urban Produced goods to Total Consump- tion Expenditure	60	47	50	16

* refers to pure foodgrain purchasers who fully depend on market for consumption.

reference year of investigation they did not report investment in agriculture. The small savings by the poor peasants and agricultural labourers seem to be a product of the demand for money for precautionary purposes because of their labour supply being in excess of demand for their labour which is very much restricted to the capitalist peasants' requirements for labour. The demand for their labour is limited to them because they, being about 78 per cent of the total number of households, have to depend on 28 per cent of that total; i.e. capitalist peasants.

All the agricultural labourers and 88 per cent of the poor peasants purchase foodgrains from the commodity market. In other words, they depend on market for foodgrains consumption. The agricultural labourers fully depend on market for subsistence consumption and 88 per cent of the poor peasants depending on foodgrain market purchase 38 per cent of the total foodgrains consumed by them. The family peasant also purchases a part of foodgrains for consumption from the market. Half of the capitalist peasants also purchase foodgrains, mostly pulses, for consumption. Most of the peasants come from those households which operate marginal, small and medium land holdings.

The relative position of the peasants of different classes in respect of sale and purchase of foodgrains indicates that most of the poor peasants go for 'distress' sale and the capitalist peasants do not present the case of distress sale by them, except in regard to those individual capitalist producers

who operate marginal and small sized land holdings. The poor peasants who sell 40 per cent of their output, also purchase 50 per cent of their total foodgrain production. This situation clearly refers to their 'distress' sale. The capitalist peasants who sell 80 per cent of their total output **show** their capacity to sell rather than compulsion to buy.

The class-wise pattern of consumption expenditure clearly shows growing demand for the goods produced in urban areas. But the demand for these goods varies from one class to another, depending upon the character of class relations in incomes. The capitalist peasants consume more urban produced goods than what the other classes do. Table 8 indicates that the capitalist peasants have spent 60 per cent of their total money on the purchase of urban produced goods for consumption; but the landless agricultural labourers have spent as low as 16 per cent. The family and poor peasants have also spent 47 per cent and 50 per cent of their total expended money on the purchase of urban produced goods respectively. The class-wise pattern of consumption expenditure indicates that the pattern of demand for consumption goods produced in urban areas is very much related to class relations in income distribution.

The above characteristics of class relations in agriculture clearly indicate the formation of a class of peasant bourgeoisie that demands for labour in agriculture and a class of

agricultural wage labourers who supply labour for the capitalist peasants. It is the poor peasants who depend on agricultural wages but are also land owners and operators. Hence they stand on the way to the process of capitalist transformation in agriculture because they do not form a class of full fledged agricultural labourers or proletariats. The semi-proletarian status of the poor peasants combines the elements of both, self-employment and wage labour. In this way, they partly retain the characteristics of earlier modes of production in which the owner of labour was not separated from the owner of the means of production. These characteristics are retained because of agrarian reforms which lead to the retention of such peasants in rural areas.¹³ In Mairhi, there are some households belonging to scheduled castes who got land from the Government and became marginal or small land holders. Moreover, the existence of caste system as a factor of feudalism is another cause for the restrictive process of capitalist development in agriculture in villages. But the growing bonds of capitalist development in terms of money-commodity relations indicate the disintegration of the case-bound agrarian social structure because landless agricultural households of the upper castes like Rajput and Brahmin live on agricultural wages in the village. Even a landless Bania household hires-out labour for wages in agriculture. Some of households belonging to the intermediate castes like Koeri and Bari possess capitalistic character in the sense that they hire-in labour but do not hire-out family labour in off-

Table-9 : Composition of Castes in Classes

Castes	Capitalist Family Peasants	Family Peasant	Poor Peasants	Landless Agricultural Labourers	Total
UPPER CASTES					
1. Rajput	62.50	Nil	Nil	9.09	20.68
2. Brahmin	12.50	Nil	11.12	Nil	6.89
INTERMEDIATE CASTES					
Koeri	12.50	Nil	33.33	Nil	13.79
Bari	12.50	Nil	Nil	Nil	3.44
Bania	Nil	Nil	Nil	9.09	3.44
LOWER CASTES					
Harijans	Nil	100.00	55.55	63.64	44.87
Muslims	Nil	Nil	Nil	18.18	6.89
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note : 1. Koeri and Bari castes are mostly marginal land holders. One Koeri operates holding size of 5 acres.

2. All Harijans belonging to family and poor peasant classes are marginal land holders.

farms. Those who are not capitalist peasants fall under the domain of capitalism because they cannot get rid of money-commodity relations. The castes as an element of feudal or semi-feudal system appear on the rural scene because some of the upper layer of the intermediate castes by and large own and operate large holding size of land and the scheduled castes and lower layer of intermediate castes are pre-dominantly marginal land holders or landless agricultural labourers in the villages; and the emerging capitalist relations in production mostly converge with the former. As a result, the caste relations appear to be more overt than class relations in production in the villages. Hence the class formation of peasantry is seconded to the castes in agriculture.

The distribution of castes in different classes of the households in the village presents more or less a similar case, as the above discussion indicates. Most of the capitalist peasants come from the upper castes like Rajput and most of the poor peasants and landless agricultural labourers belong to the scheduled castes. Table-9 indicates that some of them also belong to the intermediate castes. What all this shows is that the prevailing pattern of caste relations in land underscores formation of class relations in production. But the characteristics of capitalist development in agriculture make this fact obvious that the caste relations in land are converging with the formation of new production relations in agriculture.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the poor peasant, the artisan, all such class present some of the basic elements of Asiatic or pre-capitalist relations in production in some form or other. They always try to save their existence from extinction and the reformist policy of the State that represents the interests of the bourgeois society also helps in protecting their existence from extinction in order to woo their votes for power. This case is also true in respect of India because the party in power frequently adopts this policy in the name of democratic socialism as the main goal of the nation. Lenin said : 'The entire agrarian system of the State becomes capitalist and for a long time retains feudal features or for that matter, the features of the natural economy or the Corvee economy'. Please see his book, 'Development of Capitalism in Russia', Chapter-III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978.
2. Mishra, G.P., 'The Village as a Unit of Investigation', Social Scientist, June 1983, p.65.
3. Srinivas, M.N., 'Reflections on Rural Development', Mainstream, May 12, 1979, p.14.
4. Please see Mishra, G.P., 'Dynamics of Rural Development in Village India', Chapter, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1982.
5. Srinivas, M.N., Ibid, p.15.
6. Please see Lenin, 'Development of Capitalism in Russia', Chapter II, and Mishra, G.P., op. cit., p.65-66.
7. Marx, K., and Engels, J., 'Manifesto of the Communist Party', Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p.50-51.
8. Lenin, V.I., op. cit., p.244.
9. Ibid, p.244.
10. Ibid, p. 247.
11. Ibid, p. 247.
12. Bardhan, Pranab, 'Agrarian Class Formation in India', the Journal of Peasant Studies, October 1982, p.74. He has applied the Lenin-Mao-Roemer hierarchy of agrarian classes to the set of detailed household-level data for the sample villages in rural West Bengal from the NSS

1972-73 Employment and Unemployment Survey. We have followed the use of hired labour as a basis for the classification of households in five classes and so we have taken these five symbolical expressions from his paper.

- 13 Please see Mishra, G.P., 'Agrarian Reform and Change in India', Mainstream, August 11, 1984.

Chapter-5

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES -- A MICRO-VIEW

"By the time India gained independence the country's industry was dominated by the lower forms of productive ... Historically two groups of pre-factory, small scale industrial production have developed in India. The first group of industries, located in the towns and cities serving the needs of the feudal lords, their entourage and armies and supplying the external market was largely ruined during the British colonial rule ... The second group was presented by artisans production maintaining close ties with agriculture within the framework of the village community. The links between artisan production and agriculture in the colonial period were disrupted unevenly. At the same time the continued existence of backward relations of production within agriculture, the key branch of the Indian economy, bolstered the traditional character of the reproduction of the means of production".

Shirokov, G.K., "Industrialization and Changing Pattern of India's Social and Economic System".

Village industries are characterised as artisan-based production activities. These activities exist in today's India as a 'carry-over' from the past. Their existence as a carry-over from the past signifies the retention of some of the characteristics of the earlier modes of production but in the form of disjunction from the basic structure of their inter-connectedness that they had with agriculture and peasant societies in the past. They possess a disjuncted form of structural relations with agriculture and peasant societies because of two reasons : firstly, due to the super-imposed colonial mode of production in the country which ruined the

basic structure of their inter-connectedness with agriculture and peasant societies¹; and secondly, due to a process of development which was initiated and promoted by the State in free India as an extension over the colonial process of transfer of science, technology and corresponding institutions; and as an intensive extension over the colonial centre-periphery nexus of market and trade relations.² As a result, two things happened over a period of time. Firstly, village industries are not only disjuncted from the inner structure of their inter-connectedness with agriculture and peasant societies but are placed under a constant process of disintegration at the village level. Secondly, village industries are technologically, organisationally and economically segmented from urban producers and modern industries which are organised, formal and localised in major cities or urban centres. Given these disjunctive and segmentary characteristics of village industries, the articulation of their development strategies of planning simply retains them as some of the characteristics of the old modes of production in rural India. Moreover, the structure of dependency created and retained thereby makes village industries and artisans captive of urban producers, traders and merchants on the one hand and on the other it makes captive of rich peasants, local traders and merchants at the village level. As a consequence, they are subject to decline even today, despite the efforts to retain them and their producers, i.e. artisans are subject to pauperisation in the country.

So far the techno-economic relations of village industries with agriculture and peasant societies in villages or rural areas are concerned, the characteristic pattern of interrelations between land, peasants and agriculture obtained in the village under the present study indicates village industries to be under a constant process of disintegration (if not separation). Their relations with agriculture and peasant societies are disintegrating at the village level because the well-to-do peasants are emerging as a new class called capitalist and agriculture is experiencing new developments in the forces of production. Emerging new relations and forces of production refer to evolutionary process of development of capitalism in the agricultural sector of the economy. As a result, artisan-based production activities and rural craftsmen are easing out of their traditional sphere of existence. The peasants, specially those well-to-do, have developed close contacts with the market production of modern or improved agricultural implements, machinery and other modern inputs like fertilisers concentrated outside the village, in small scale or medium and large scale enterprises belonging to urban areas. Moreover, changes in the pattern of rural income distribution resulting from the capitalist process of production have also changed the pattern of demand for consumption goods. The consumption pattern of the village people reflects that they are more related to the market production of consumer goods concentrated in small or large enterprises located in the urban centres or areas. All this shows that the characteristic pattern of traditional relations between village

industries and agriculture or between rural artisans and peasants is disintegrating in the present agrarian situation at the village level.

Now let us look at the structural characteristics of village industries and their relations with agriculture and peasant society at the micro-level. Their structural characteristics and relations with agriculture and peasant society are discussed in the context of Mairhi village on the following assumptions : (a) there is an emergence of capitalist development in agriculture as an integral but subordinated part of urban centred capitalist process of development; and (b) the traditional bonds of relations between village industries and agriculture, or between rural artisans and peasant society are under a constant process of disintegration.

The structural characteristics of village industries and rural artisans are analysed in the following parts - (i) demo-socio-economic characteristics of village industries; (ii) techno-organisational characteristics of village industries; (iii) market production and (iv) caste-industry relations.

II. Demo-Socio-Economic Characteristics

There are seven village industries found in the village which are pottery, carpentry, blacksmithy, sari-making, carpet-making, bidi-making and dholak (i.e. drum) making. In all, eleven households are engaged in these industries. The distribution of these households engaged in the seven industries

show that four of them are involved in pottery, two in dholak-making and one each in sari-making, carpet making, bidi-making, carpentry and blacksmithy.

The potters who are reported to have carried out their traditional activity - pottery - from one generation to another are Kumbhars - a socio-occupational caste and are tied-up to the bond of patron-client relations even today in some form or other. The sari-maker, bidi-maker and dholak-makers come from the Muslim community. The carpet maker belongs to scheduled caste, i.e. Chamar who has undertaken this industry, not being part of his socio-economic occupation. Blacksmithy is in fact combined by a carpenter who is again a traditional socio-economic occupational caste. These eleven households have a population of 64 persons of which 38 are males and 26 females. The level of literacy is not high among these artisans. Only 28 per cent of them are literates. Only one female member is literate which shows negligible literacy among the females. In fact, there are 33 earning members (or workers) and the rest are dependent as Table-1 indicates. In this way, about 50 per cent of the population are workers. A majority of the earning members are males because only 10 are females.

All the earning members are not full-time employed. There are also part-time workers. There are some full-time workers of the industrial household groups who also work in

Table 1 : Industry-wise Distribution of Households, Population, Earning Members and Dependents

Sl. No.	Village Industries	No. of households	Earning Members			Dependents			Total Population		
			M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1.	Pottery	4	8	4	12	4	6	10	12	10	22
2.	Carpentry	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	2
3.	Blacksmithy	1	3	1	4	3	2	5	6	3	9
4.	Sari-making	1	2	1	3	2	3	5	4	4	8
5.	Dari-making	1	2	1	3	1	2	3	3	3	6
6.	Bidi-making	1	2	-	2	1	-	1	3	-	3
7.	Dholak-making, Umbrella-cum-Lock repairing	2	5	2	7	4	3	7	9	5	14
ALL		11	23	10	33	15	16	31	38	26	64

M = Male

F = Female

T = Total

agriculture as part-timers. Table-2 shows that 17 persons out of 33 are full-time engaged in village industries, 3 in agriculture and 5 in non-agricultural activities such as tailoring, goat and cloth selling. There are six full-timed persons who have also reported to have worked as part-timers in agriculture. Table-3 indicates that in total 8 persons are exclusively part-time workers - 5 in village industries, 2 in agriculture and 1 in non-agriculture. There are 5 females, one part-time engaged in village industries, and 2 and 1 females work part-time in agriculture and non-agriculture respectively. All

Table 2 : Distribution of Full-Time Workers Among
Different Activities : Industries

Activities/ Industries	Full Time workers in									Full time work- ers also work- as part time in agriculture		
	Village indus- tries			Agriculture			Non-agricul- ture					
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Pottery	7	7	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	4	4	-
Carpentry	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Blacksmithy	1	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Sari-Making	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carpet-making	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bidi-making	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dholak-mak- ing etc.	3	2	1	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	17	16	1	3	3	-	5	5	-	6	6	-

Table 3 : Industry-wise Distribution of Exclusively
Part-time Workers Among Different Activities

Industry	Part-time workers in								
	Village indus- try			Agriculture			Non-agriculture		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Pottery	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carpentry	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Blacksmithy	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Sari-making	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carpet-making	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bidi-making	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dholak-making	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
TOTAL	-	5	5	-	2	2	-	1	1

(T = Total, M = Male, and F = Female)

those who are employed full-time in different activities are in fact self-employed. The full-time persons who worked part time in agriculture are also unpaid family members. There is one member belonging to a potter's household who is not self-employed but works as a Tailor on daily wages. A member of the dholak-making household also hire-out his labour in agriculture for somedays in a year. Who are those working full-time self-employed persons in agriculture ? These persons belong to some households which own and operate some land in the village. There are farm households which also own and operate some land for cultivation and so some family members belonging to these households also work as self-employed in agriculture. The two potter households own and cultivate 0.25 acre of irrigated land and produce paddy and wheat in a year. The carpenter own and cultivates one acre of irrigated land and produces paddy and wheat. The household which comprises both carpentry and blacksmithy also harvests double crops from owned 2 acres of irrigated land plus one acre of leased-in area which is also irrigated. The Dari-making household also owns and cultivates 0.75 acre of irrigated land and harvests double crop in a year. Thus some members of these land owning and operating households find self-employment in their own farming. The occupational structure of employment thus shows that the village industries carried out at the household level combined other economic activities with them in the village. In a way, it implies that these industries do not provide enough employment-cum-income generating opportunities for all household

members nor they have developed as separate units of production from other activities at the household level.

The industry-wise distribution of employment of household members indicates that all these households do not depend on their respective household industries but also on other activities. The industry-wise composition of household incomes from different sources as presented in Table 4 bears a witness to this fact. It is pottery, sari-weaving, carpet-weaving and bidi-making industries on which the households belonging

Table 4 : Industry-wise Distribution of Household Incomes from Different Sources

Industries	Total Net Income from:			Total	Per House- hold	Per Capi- ta
	Village indus-tries	Agricul- ture (i.e. crop out- put)	Non-agri- culture			
1. Pottery	14759	1200	2000*	17959	4490	816
2. Carpentry	55	2300	-	2355	2355	1178
3. Blacksmithy	2182	3100	-	5282	5282	587
4. Sari-making	9425	-	-	9425	9425	1178
5. Dari-making	9600	1750	-	11350	11350	1892
6. Bidi-making	2550	-	-	2550	2550	850
7. Dholak-making etc.	295	-	5400**	5695	2847	407

Note : * includes income from tailoring.

** includes incomes from goat and cloth-selling.

to them depend on their incomes. These industries are, in fact, the major source of income for their respective households. Blacksmithy is another industry which provides a considerable amount of income belonging to its household members. But carpentry and dholak-making do not provide enough income for the members of the households which carry out these activities. Hence they go in search of other sources of income for subsistence and so they earn income from other than their household industries. For the dholak-making households, non-agricultural activities are the major sources of income generation and for carpentry it is agriculture on which the household carrying out their activity has to depend.

So far the relative positions of the households belonging to these industries in respect of their total incomes are concerned, Table 4 shows that the level of per capita income being Rs.1178 for the carpenter, Rs.1178 for the Sari-maker and Rs.1892 for the carpet-maker, they are quite better off than those belonging to other village industries. The per capita level of the dholak-making households shows them to be in the worst position among all the other households. Their position is also worst because they have to depend on other activities because they hire-out family labours in the absence of demand for their products.

What all these characteristics of village industries show are the following : Firstly, these household industries are based on family labour mode of production. Secondly, these

industries are carried out not as specialised branches of production in the sense that they are not separated from other activities at the household. Thirdly, they do not appear to be the main source of dependence for family members as some of them find alternatives in some other activities for supplementing their family incomes.

III. Techno-Organisational Characteristics of Village Industries

Village industries are carried on at the household level. Self-employment of family is the basic characteristic of the household form of their production. Machine tools and implements used in these industries are indigenous in the sense that they are manufactured within the State (or for that matter in the country). The description of the places of their purchase, as shown in Table 5, indicates that they are mostly brought either from Varanasi or Chandauli (i.e town). This implies that even the simplest implements and tools are now produced in small scale enterprises concentrated in towns or in the urban informal sector. But in the past all such traditional implements and tools were produced by local craftsmen in villages. The process of operating these equipments and implements in these industries is hand-operating or manual in character. All this shows that the household form of production is continued with traditional technologies.

All the households engaged in village industries do not own the means of production. The Sari and Carpet weavers have got handlooms from two Mahajans or traders who reside at Varanasi. They simply operate them and produce sari and carpet on the basis of raw materials supplied by their respective traders. They get rewards as per the production of the final products from the traders. Thus these two cases present a labour subcontractual mode of production in which the labour power of these weavers is purchased by the traders on a contractual basis. In this way, they are not producing units but service rendering ones. But the carpet-maker who produces

Table 5 : Descriptions About Machinery and Equipment

Industrial Units	Name of the Machine and Tools	Number	Cost	Place of Purchase	Mode of Operation
Pottery	Chak	4	315	Varanasi Chainpur Chandauli village	Hand-operated
Carpentry	Saw-1, Rukheni -3, Bansula-2 and Randa-1	6	57	Rukheni self made and others from Mohania and Chandauli	-Do-
3. Blacksmithy	Hammer-2, Chhankani-1, Saw -1, Plas -2, Reti -2, Nihai 1, Randa -1	11	305	All from Varanasi, except the last one from Saiyad Raja	-Do-
4. Sari-weaving	Kargha -2 (upper machine)	2	10,000	Varanasi	-Do-
5. Carpet-weaving	Kargha -3 and Upper part 2	5	12,000	Varanasi	-Do-
6. Bidi-making	Folder Niddle 2, Knife 2, Suop 1.	5	38	Chandauli village	-Do-
7. Dholak-making	Knife -2, Hammer - 1	3	8.50	Saiyad Raja Chandauli	-Do-

carpet on the basis of a system of labour sub-contract, also hires in six skilled workers on the payment of daily wages to them. These workers get employment for 300 days in a year and wages at the rate of Rs.9 per day. The carpet weaver gets his remuneration at the rate of Rs.200 per piece of carpet of 3' x 3' size. In this way, he produces 300 carpets in a year. So far the sari maker is concerned, he receives Rs.100 per sari and weaves and prepares seven to eight sarees in a month. Hence these two - sari and carpet makers - do not worry about the marketing of their products and raw materials required for their production.

The dholak making activity is decaying because of the lack of demand for dholak either within the village or outside the village. That is why the dholak making households make dholak as a part-time activity. They depend more on goat and cloth selling business. Carpentry has become more service rendering than goods producing activity. However, blacksmithy is more important than carpentry because some agricultural tools or implements like spade, siskle, plough, shoe, etc. are produced by the blacksmith in the village. It is so because poor peasants and agricultural labourers demand them, their prices being lower than those produced in urban areas. But considering the number of poor peasants and agricultural labourers, the blacksmith does not produce them regularly as he does not have an assured demand for these small implements. Hence this industrial activity is also gradually becoming service rendering in character.

Pottery is the only village industry which supplies goods required for local consumption. The village market for its products such as earthen pots for cooking and drinking purposes, lamps for night lightening, tiles for roof making for thatched or kuchcha houses and toys required at some specific festivals and ceremonial occasions is the reason for the survival of this industry in the village. Hence the household form and traditional technology of pottery are closely related to the village and its people. The survival of this industry is also on account of the persistence of patron-client relationship in respect of some rituals and traditions and that of poverty in the village. Bidi having one of the common and cheapest smokes for the people is consumed there and so this activity at the household level is in operation.

What does all this imply? Firstly, village industries as such are based on the family labour-oriented technical mode of production. Secondly, they produce consumer's goods and some capital goods but the latter are not significant from the point of view of production. Thirdly, all the producers are not owners of the means of production; as sari and carpet weavers' handlooms are owned by the traders.

IV. Market Production of Village Industries

The market production of all village industries, except in the case of Sari and Carpet making, is concentrated in the village itself. The sari and carpet makers who produce saris

and carpets for the traders have the characteristics of urban market production. But pottery, carpentry, blacksmithy, bidi-making and dholak-making produce goods and services for the village market as Table 6 indicates.

Table 6 : Characteristics of Production

	Raw Materials		Cost of		Total Sales (Rs.)	
	Cost (Rs.)	Place of purchase	Fuel	Transport	Amount	Place of sale
Pottery	Nil	Free from within village	1340	Nil	16095	Village
Carpentry	66	Wood from village and nail from Saiyad Raja	-	Nil	120	Village
Blacksmith	1650	Iron sheet, iron rod from Varanasi and wood, nail from Saiyad-Raja	210	108	4150	Village
Dholak-making	Nil	-	Nil	-	195	Village
Bidi-making	2250	Saiyad Raja	Nil	Nil	9800	Village

Note : Relating to Sari and Carpet making, details as required in view of the table are not given because they get raw materials from their respective traders or Mahajans.

The industry-wise composition of total sales indicates quite small amounts of market production for carpentry and dholak-making in the village. But the amounts of market production relating to other industries are quite large in the village. The figures relating to industry-wise volume of market production

shown in terms of total sales reflect the prevalence of demand for the products produced by these industries in the village. But the consumption pattern of modern agricultural implements and tools and other goods purchased from urban areas indicates more penetration of the urban market production of capital as well as consumer goods in the village. In other words, the urban market oriented production of organised industries swells over the market production of village industries. The market production of even simplest agricultural implements concentrated outside the village in small scale enterprises is adversely affecting craft production in the village. The marketing of raw materials by different industrial groups show that all the producers, except potters have to purchase at and bring from Varanasi or nearby semi-urban market Saiyad-Raja which has both Railway and Bus stations. This means that village industries depend for raw materials on urban market and for their produce on the village market which is already dependent on the urban market in respect of demand for agricultural products and modern inputs used in agriculture. So far the village market for absorbing the goods and services produced by village industries is concerned, the consumption pattern of farmers relating to modern agricultural implements and inputs and other consumer's goods shows not only heavy reliance upon the urban market but also indicates it to be gradually drawn into cortex of urban market being under the control of traders and industrialists of the urban specific based organised sector. As a

result, the village market for absorbing goods and services produced by village industries is limited to the farmer's demand for them and their income elasticity of demand being in favour of urban produced goods and services it is by and large heavily dependent on the farmers which does not indicate bright future for them in the years to come. With respect to Sari and carpet industries, their market production shows that the weavers are retained in the village because of the sub-contract mode of labour which covers the predominance of trade and commerce over these industries leading to the maintenance of dependency structure for the weavers on urban-based traders or mahajans. Hence the market production of these goods having under their control of produces does not present bright prospects for these industries; as they appropriate the surplus value of labour for the formation of money capital leading to the subsumption of labour under it.

The marketing and other problems facing village industries, as reported by different households and presented in Table 7, shows that pottery, carpentry and blacksmithy are fully dependent upon the village market. But the village market is reported to be limited in scope, so far the demand for their products is concerned. The demand for dholak is quite negligible in the village. The Sari and Carpet makers fully depend on the traders who supply raw materials and take final products from the producers. The bidi-maker has reported to have suffered from the local consumers who usually prefer to some brands

Table 7 : Marketing and Other Problems Faced by the Village Industries

Industry	No. of household holds	Difference in rent	Same occupation	Difference in rent	Reasons	No. of household holds	Problems facing present activity	Marketing problems
1. Pottery	4	-	2	2	Traditional No Prospects	2	Limited Marketing scope	Dependence on village market which is limited
2. Carpentry	1	-	-	1	No Prospects	1	"	"
3. Blacksmithy	1	-	-	1	Studying	1	No other alternative	"
4. Sari-making	1	-	1	-	Traditional	1	Dependence on Mahajans	No problem
5. Dari-making	-	-	-	1	Wants to make officer	1	Dependence on Mahajans	"
6. Bidi-making	1	-	1	-	No alternative or prospects	1	Limited scope in village	People prefer labelled or brand marked
7. Dholak-making	2	-	-	2	No prospects	2	Dependence on Chandauli	Negligible demand

manufactured in urban areas. All these marketing problems indicate how village industries are the captive of dependency on the urban market in general and village market in particular.

V. The Question of Caste-Industry Relations

Village industries are predominantly carried on by some specific castes or communities for centuries. In fact the caste-industry nexus is a product of the community based labour process of petty production. In course of time, this process of petty production was historically crystallised as caste specific-based labour process of craft production in village India.

The colonial mode of production destroyed the basic structure of India's domestic industry but could not remove village artisans because the colonial arrangements of feudal land relations sustained the caste-based characteristics of village industries by maintaining the Jajmani System, i.e. patron-client relations, in the villages. Moreover, the traders and merchants also subsumed a artisan labour under capital which was required for the production of some commodities in view of their local demand and consumption.

In free India, the agrarian reforms and policy measures and programmes for sector-wise industrial development retained the caste characteristics of villages industries. The subsumption of artisan labour under capital by traders and merchants

also led to the retention of their caste characteristics in village India. The Sari and Carpet making industries in Mairhi village show these two weavers are retained as artisans (of course with occupational mobility by one of them) through the subsumption of their labour under capital by the traders. The studies by R.S. Mathew³, M.S. Ashraf⁴ and Jain-Kapadia⁵ also bear a witness to this fact. The existence of traditional ties between peasants and artisans in the village also indicate how the caste characteristics of most of the village industries are sustained there. The differential strategy of development for artisans as a target group presents a form of retaining caste-characteristics of the artisans by the State in some form or other.

The prevailing conditions of dependency for artisans do not provide suitable alternatives for their subsistence, except that they should cling to their traditional activities or they should leave them and work as agricultural/non-agricultural workers or they should migrate to towns in search of opportunities for jobs. The artisans have also conservative character and they prefer to save their existence from extinction. The ruling class and the bourgeois character of the State also help them in this regard because of the lust for power and of maintaining that character of the State.

But the artisans cannot save their existence from extinction for a long period of time because the revolutionising of the methods and technology of production by the capita-

lists and due to consequent changes in the pattern of income distribution and consumption expenditure. Hence their pauperisation is inevitable and also an evolutionary process of their conversion into labouring class.

The foregoing section shows that some of the households belonging to village industries do not depend on these activities alone but also on other allied activities like agriculture and the sale of a part of their labour power in agriculture in which they are not traditionally specialised as castes. One of the cases of carpet-making household shows that weaving is not its traditional occupation. But the weaver of this carpet-making industry has opted it because of the absence of suitable alternatives open to him for livelihood. The trader who has given him Karghas has in fact subsumed his labour under capital. In this way, he has retained weaving not as a caste occupation but as an artisan. This case of weaving does not present case for diversification of activity but a condition of dependency for the artisans on the merchant or a condition of subsuming their labour on money capital. The labour of the sari maker is also subsumed by the trader under his capital. However, the characteristics of all the other households engaged in their respective industries in the village, Mairhi show why and how they retain their caste-bound occupational characteristics. Some of the causes for the retention of the caste bound occupational characteristics are also mentioned above in this section.

Money being a command over all goods and services has become the most important source of power in village India. Hence the rich having an access to credit market and political power also go for the start of an economic activity which helps them in multiplying money capital. One of the rich peasants who is economically and politically powerful has installed a baby expeller for oil extraction. In fact, it is not an industrial activity for him but a source of marketing oil and oil-cakes which generates cash money for him. He is Thakur by caste but he has gone for non-traditional occupation. It is money which has caused his occupational mobility. This mobility does not signify some kind of diversification but specifies his passion for money capital formation at the household level. Even then he retains his caste identity for the consolidation of his position in the village power structure. This is a peculiar case of caste-industry relations. Virtual elimination of traditional oil extraction industry from villages which was run by specific caste, Teli or Oil-man, is one of the examples to show how this caste-bound industry faced its essential decay due to oligo-polistic control over the marketable surplus of oilseeds by wholesale traders and their relations with those who run modern technology based oil industry in small or medium-cum-large scale enterprises located in urban areas. Commercialisation of oil-seeds and oligo-polistic control of wholesale trade and market by big traders, and the application of modern methods and technological processes of oil extraction have thrown the specific caste out of this

industry in the villages. The oligo-polistic control over the supply of raw-materials like cotton yarn is also easing out artisans from the traditional spheres of their existence.⁶

In Mairhi village too, the two telis are eased out from the sphere of their traditional occupation and are reported to work in agriculture as poor peasant-cum-agricultural labourers. The Industrial Surveys conducted in different States (also in different districts of U.P.) in 1923-24 indicate why and how traditional oil industry was systematically destroyed. A case study appended here shows that the oilmen belonging to Mairhi whose main occupation was oil extraction from oil-seeds by bullock driven ghani had to abandon their occupation. This case presents a case of disintegration in the caste-bound system of village industries and a process of semi-proletarianisation in the village.

All this shows two things : (a) in some cases, traditional pattern of caste-industry relations is disintegrating; and (b) in most of the cases, the traditional pattern of caste-industry relations is retained. The co-occurrence of the processes of disintegration and retention of the traditional pattern of caste-industry relations in fact characterises the co-existence of both, precapitalist and capitalist relations in the Indian villages.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Growth of British merchant capital and the colonial methods of its administration not only forcibly breached the subsistence isolation of India by converting her into a major market for British goods and drawing her into the world market as a raw material supplier but also eroded the inner structure of techno-economic relations between agriculture and domestic industry or between peasants and artisans. The emergence and growth of British industrial capital fully ruined this structure. But at the same time the colonial setting of feudal relations also retained artisans by making them dependent on feudal lords and the peasants of occupancy rights in land in the country, leaving agriculture in the state of backwardness. For all this, please see Pavlov, 'India's Socio-Economic Structure from the 18th to Mid-20th Centuries', in the book 'India : Social and Economic Development', by V. Pavlov, V. Rastyannikov, and G. Shirokov, and Komrov, K., 'Agrarian Relations in India in Nineteenth Century', Mainstream, May 9, 1974.
2. In an article 'Dominant Agrarian Relations : Class Basis of Rural Development', published in the State and Society, January-March 1982, the author has shown how in a sense, all the institutional fabrics of the British Raj remained interwoven in India on the eve of independence. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and the Industrial Commission of 1916-18 also bear a witness to this fact that post-independent India followed her development process on the basis of what the British Raj left behind. It becomes evident if the major policy measures and programmes for agricultural and industrial development adopted by the State since independence are compared with those of the above Commissions constituted during the colonial rule. Hence in free-India, the growth of merchant and industrial capital occurred with the State initiatives and promotions have eroded the traditional pattern of relations between agriculture and village industries; but at the same time the administration of merchant and industrial capital in free-India has also retained artisans leading to their pauperisation.

3. According to R.S. Mathew, the existing mode of work organisation of Chikan Handicraft can be characterised 'by multiplicity of intermediary interest'. The multiplicity of intermediary interest manifests the dominance of traders and merchants over the chikan workers whose labour is subsumed by them under their money capital. "The survey reveals that about 96 per cent of the workers are contract workers and the rest of the 4 per cent include wage employees, self-employed (0.1 per cent, and the mixed category of self-employed-cum-contract workers (3.6 per cent)", p.5, please see his 'Report on Chikan Handicraft', July 31, 1975.
4. "The units using mainly unpaid family labour are, however, mostly found to undertake jobs either from the larger units or from dealers/exporters of handprinted cloth. Thus they earn wages for the job they undertake", p.3. "Thus, the organisation of production has three main systems, i.e. producers, wage earners and middlemen/commission agents", p.4. "The industry has been monopolised by the families of either business men or whose traditional business has been in handprinted textiles, and there has been hardly any case of vertical mobility of artisans to the status of owners and entrepreneurs", p.15. Ashraf, M.S., 'Economics of Cloth Printing in the Decentralised Sector : A Study of Hand Printing Industry in Farrukhabad, U.P.', GIDS, 1980.
5. The Jain-Kapadia study shows that 'hand printing craft is faced with extinction' because 'in the absence of guilds, associations and cooperatives the hand printers are on the one hand an easy prey to the chain of middlemen, money-lenders and exporters' (i.e. traders) and on the other are unable to get any effective protection...", p.471, Jain, L.C. and Kapadia, R., "Hand Printing is Dying : Impact of Indiscriminate Mechanisation", Economic and Political Weekly, March 17, 1984.
6. In this regard, the case of Sitapur dari industry may be quoted. "The Sitapur Dari industry, using the traditional handloom and giving employment to over a lakh of weavers, is on the verge of collapse. Reason is price hike by 50 per cent of cotton yarn. More than 25,000 weavers have already abandoned their ancestral trade. The remainder, working under immense stress and strain, are virtually starving". The Pioneer, October 25, 1984. This is true in respect of other village and cottage industries because their required raw materials are under the control of oligopolistic market structure.

Chapter-6

CONCLUSION

"The growth of cities to be an evil thing, unfortunately for mankind and the world ... certainly unfortunate for India ... The British have exploited India through its cities. The latter have exploited the villages. The blood of the villages is the cement with which the edifice of the cities is built. I want the blood that is today inflating the arteries of the cities to run once again in the blood vessels of the villages".

Mahatma Gandhi¹

Over a period of time there have been substantial changes in the characteristic pattern of relations between land held as one of the basic sources of production and producers (i.e. peasants), producers and agriculture as a technology and methods of farming, agriculture and industry, rural and urban producers, and village and town. The essence and direction of changes in the characteristic pattern of relations between all these elements of agrarian relations refer to the emergence and development of capitalism as a system-moulding force in the socio-economic structure of production in rural India. But the spurt or spread of this force is not spatially uniform in the economy. The spatial variations in the spurt of capitalism present a dual socio-economic structure of production-capitalist and pre-capitalist. Moreover, the relative position or coexistence of this dual structure also causes such variations in the spurt of this dominating force in the production structure.

The coexistence of such a dual structure of production is a product of the urban based capitalist process of development initiated and promoted by the State at the colonial base of metropolitan capitalism that led 'the glaring disproportion between the rate of disintegration and decline of the traditional mode of production and the scale of nascent capitalist socio-economic structure that best demonstrated the special features of an agrarian economy imparting to it a distinct quality of stagnant or semi-stagnant peripheral areas'.²

"Such peripheral areas were distinctive in that they became periphery not only in relation to the centre of the capitalist system, but also in relation to the national town which was becoming the centre of capitalist influence within the nation".³ Growth of metropolitan capitalism not only subjected the periphery to the rule of towns and cities but the colonial based centre-periphery nexus of market and trade relations also subordinated agriculture to commerce and industry. At the same time, 'the existence of backward relations of production within agriculture, the key branch of the Indian economy, was retained and this bolstered the traditional character of the reproduction of the means of production'.⁴ The ruined inner structure of techno-economic relations between agriculture and domestic industry did not provide any alternatives for those engaged in the latter. They had to depend on the traditional relations or on hiring out their labour in agricultural and non-agricultural activities. The colonial arrangements of land relations

forced many of them to retain the traditional character of production relations in villages. Moreover, the colonial setting of feudal relations bonded peasants to the landlords, and the colonial methods and mode of commerce and trade also subsumed peasant and artisan labour under money and merchant capital. In this way, a layer of dependency structure was also created in village India.

In free-India as well, the subjection of the country to the rule of the towns, agriculture to commerce and industry, and rural producers to urban producers persisted in some form or other. The subsumption of peasant and artisan labour by traders and merchants also continued on an extended scale. In brief, it may be said that the State promoted and regulated process of capitalist development was not free from the colonial legacy of the subjection of the country to the rule of the towns and its articulation in the strategy of planning for development retained some of the basic characteristics of the earlier modes of production in the name of democratic socialism assumed as the basic goal of national socio-economic policy. Moreover political aristocracy of the ruling party or class having social intercourse with 'moneyocracy' protected (and in many cases created) the lower or intermediate forms of production which helped in the extension of dependency structure. The process of industrial development localised in major towns and cities, by and large, remained a subject to the rule of 'milliocracy' and so industrial capital could not flow fre-

quently into rural areas but it was interrupted by the forces of trade and commerce. Hence agricultural development resulting from the new forces and relations of production established weak capital or technical relations with the organised industrial sector. As a result, agrarian capitalism emerged but an appendix to urban capitalism which subjected the village to the rule of the towns, agriculture to commerce-trade-industry, and rural to urban producers. Mairhi village is not an exception to this rule of subjection.

In the changing agrarian situation, handicrafts and village industries are techno-organisationally a segmented part of production which persists in some form or other with the expansion of the modern sector based on the application of modern scientific knowledge and technology. Thus the co-existence of these industries along the modern industrial sector presents a case of historical continuity of the pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of production. The articulation of these two with subordination of the country to the rule of the towns creates a number of forces and conditions for exploiting the traditional units of production. As a result, the techno-organisational conditions of traditional production units do not change but persist to be stagnant or semi-stagnant and yield low income.

The characteristic pattern of relations between village industries and agriculture in Mairhi village shows that the penetration of capitalism into agriculture has evolved new relations of production and these new production relations have changed the pattern of consumption in favour of the goods and services produced in urban areas. As a result, village industries have virtually negligible demand for their products at the local level, what to talk of their demand outside the local areas. But the conservation of some of the basic characteristics of the old system or relations of production such as castes, poor peasants, patron-client relations, service rendering artisans, etc. make some of these industries stay for survival (not for the fittest but for subsistence) in the village. There are some industries like Sari and Carpet making whose products are required outside the villages in urban areas and so they are retained but by subsuming artisan labour under merchant capital. Hence they do not function as an industrial enterprise but as a part of trade, being subject to the rule of mercantile capital.

Agriculture and village industries are not mutually dependent or interrelated, but on the contrary both of them are fully dependent on industrial enterprises (small or large scale) localised in urban areas. Agriculture is fully dependent on these urban specific industries because it is drawn into the vortex of mercantile relations with them through intermediaries and traders or other agencies. Village industries are

also dependent on them because these industries produce and supply machine, equipments, tools and raw materials such as cotton yarn, metals, woods, dying colours, etc. Hence village industries do not have any kind of independence nor seem to have mutual dependence on one another but complete dependence on oligopolistic traders and producers belonging to urban centres.

What all this indicates is the disintegration as well as retention of village industries, being a subject to rule of the towns, urban specific trade and industry. Agriculture is fully drawn into the vortex of urban specific trade and market relations which refer to the existence of negligible economic relations with village industries. Thus in changing agrarian situation, village industries present a state of melancholy and they seem to be gradually eased out of their traditional sphere of production in course of time. But the ways/in which the process of easing out is taking place, leave a note of sadness on the part of the village economy.

The question of how to make village industries viable units of production deserves some kind of serious policy consideration. Hence in changing situation, the following are suggested⁵:

In view of the above idea, the areas of handicrafts and cottage industries, the types of commodities produced and technical services rendered, and resource needs should be identified. It may not be difficult to identify them. Handicrafts

and cottage industries generally produce two types of commodities-consumer's goods and small capital goods such as agricultural implements, and implements for their consumer's goods production units. There are also service rendering units in this sector, which are related to the repair of tools, implements and machinery which are used in agriculture, hand-looms, ghanies, etc. This means that they produce consumer's and capital goods, and also render technical services. By recognising these characteristics of commodity production, the R & D institutions should evolve improved technologies for the development of the consumer's and capital goods producing units of the traditional sector and also evolve appropriate tools and instruments for the units which render technical services. But this is not enough. They also require organisation and so the Government should play a leading role in providing proper organisations to these activities. On the basis of identified areas and resource needs, the Government should organise these activities on the basis of either co-operative ownership or public ownership. Hence individual units of production should be pooled together at different central places in rural (or semi-urban) areas. In this way, there will be a number of selected spatial centres of a dispersal character. The use of improved technologies and the co-operative or public ownership organisation will transform the existing techno-organisational structure of production in the traditional sector and consequently, there will be both types

of integration-horizontal as well as vertical-within and across the traditional sector's activities. In this way, the process of development in this sector will establish technical relations with the expansion of the formal sector in India.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Quoted from Radha Sinha, et al, 'Income Distribution, Growth and Basic Needs', Croom Helm, London, 1979.
2. Pavlov, V., Rastyannikov, V., and G. Shirokov, 'India : Social and Economic Development', Progress Publishers (Moscow), 1975, p.97.
3. Ibid, p.98.
4. Ibid, p. 91.
5. Taken from Mishra, G.P., 'Policy for Science and Technology for Developing Traditional Industries in Backward Areas : Problems and Prospects', Man and Development, March 1982, pp. 142-43.

Appendix-A

Objective and Sample Design

The main objective of this current study is to analyse the role and place of village industries relating to agriculture in changing agrarian situation in East Uttar Pradesh. These two aspects of the objective, i.e. role and position of village industries relating to agriculture and changing agrarian situation in East U.P., are studied in the context of Mairhi Village belonging to Banaras district of this region. The village was purposely chosen after the region and district were objectively selected for investigation.

East U.P. and Banaras were chosen because of the following reasons : Firstly, the percentage distribution of main workers engaged in household industry placed them on the top at inter-regional and inter-district levels; as the Economic Census of U.P., 1981 indicates. Secondly, this region as well as the district, Banaras which were famous for highly developed handicrafts and village industries such as handloom in the past; presented a state of melancholy due to their decay during the colonial period, without regeneration of material conditions and forces of development in the rural areas for a long period of time. Moreover, all the indicators of development relating to agriculture, industry, social overhead capital, etc. characterise the existence of a state of underdevelopment in the region and the district. Hence it was taken to be interesting if the changes in agrarian situation and prevailing village industries relating to agriculture were studied in the context

of this area. That is why the village Mairhi was purposely selected from Banaras district for investigation.

While making this case study, the village is not studied in isolation from the social structure of the rural economy in general. In view of this idea, the foregoing discussion on changes in agrarian relations has laid some specific assumptions on the basis of which this case study is conducted.

The study is based on both, secondary and primary data. The primary data are collected on the basis of structured questionnaire schedule method and interviews. In total, data and informations were collected from 29 agricultural households and 11 households reported to have been engaged in village industries. Agricultural households were selected on the basis of stratified random but proportionate sampling. All households engaged in village industries were selected for investigation, the total number of which is mentioned above.

The stratified proportionate random sampling led to the selection of 29 households in the manner as presented in the following table.

Distribution of Agricultural Households and Their Selection

Holding Size-Groups (in acres)	No. of Households	Percentage of Total House- holds	Sample size Based on Pro- portions given in column (3)
1	2	3	4
1. Landless	35	33	12
2. 0.01 - 2.50	32	31	10
3. 2.51 - 5.00	12	11	1
4. 5.01 - 7.50	7	7	1
5. 7.51 - 10.00	10	9	1
6. 10.01 - 12.50	5	5	1
7. 12.51 - 15.00	3	3	1
8. 15.01 and above	2	2	2
9. Total	106	101	29

Note : For the last category, there should have been one but both households were selected for investigation.

Appendix-B

The Decay of Traditional Ghani

Oil crushing was a caste based occupation. People belonging to Teli caste were engaged in this occupation. Oil crushing was a household industry. The total population of the Teli caste during 1884 was 19728.¹ That one decreased upto 9794 during 1923.² The decline in number was due to various reasons.

Desi bullock driven wooden Kolhu were and still used by these Telis. The Industrial Survey Report of Varanasi, 1923 estimates that ... "there are 9794 Telis in the district. Taking 3 Telis in each family and one Kolhu per family and that only half the member of Teli families is actually doing the work of oil-crushing, it works out that there are 1632 Kolhus in the district.

Average quantity per charge (ghani, per Jolhu	3 seers
Average number of charges in a day	4
Average daily consumption per day per Kolhu	12 seers
Average daily consumption - $12 \times 1632/40$	= 489 manuals
Consumption of six months - 150×490	= 73500 manuals

The report further reveals that 'a Teli hardly gets work for more than six months. For the remaining part of the year he works on wages'.

1 Source : Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-western Provinces of India, Vol. XIV, Part-I, Banaras, 1882.

2 Source : Report on the Industrial Survey of the Banaras District of the United Provinces, 1923.

The author of this report had worked out the earning of a Teli family from Rs.1-2-0 to Rs.1-6-0 per day.

There are two Teli families in the village Mairhi. Each of them were having a bullock driven wooden Desi Kolhu. Oil crushing was the primary occupation of these families till 1979. They were extracting oil from mustard and teesi oil seeds. There average daily earning was Rs.15 per day for around 100 days in a year. They were forced to stop there traditional occupation of extracting oil and becoming agriculturist and agriculturist-cum-agricultural labourers. They had changed their traditional occupation as there was no work. After the introduction of electricity in the village a big Thakur cultivator had installed his own tubewell. Though he had got the power connection for the operation of tubewell only, but by using his powerful socio-economic status in the village had installed an electrically operated expeller in 1979. This electrically operated expeller has started giving quick service at a cheaper rate to the villagers. Consequently the customers of the traditional Telis stopped taking their services. This resulted into the unemployment situation among the Teli families. As mentioned above, they became agricultural labourers and agricultural labourers-cum-cultivators. Disintegration of traditional caste based occupation due to the advent of modern technology is very much apparent from the above mentioned case.

Dari Making - A New Change

Gauri Shanker, belongs to Chamar jat. He is 29 years old and educated up to Intermediate. His father is an agriculturist now, as he got 1 acre of land during 1978 under government's surplus land distribution scheme. Before this his father was working as agricultural labour. His father wanted him to study and get employment in some government office. But when it came to reality, his dream was never fulfilled. His son went to Varanasi in search of job and failed to achieve. One of his relatives was working as weaver in Khateo International Prices Company, who proposed him to learn the weaving skill. Being an unemployed, he agreed and learned weaving. He became ready to work on a contract basis if a loom is fixed in his village itself on the company's cost. The owner installed a loom in his village. This young energetic man had started his work with a loom and at the time of study there were three looms installed in the village by the company. They are having an agreement that the raw material will be provided by the company. This man gets his labour charges as per the size of Dari', the final product. He has employed around 6 to 8 persons on the looms on daily wages, hence, generated a source of employment in the village itself.